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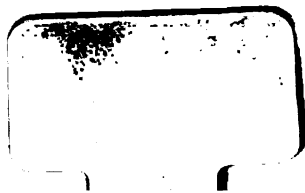
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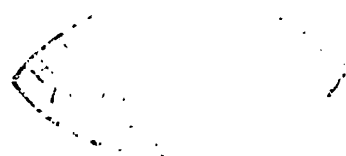
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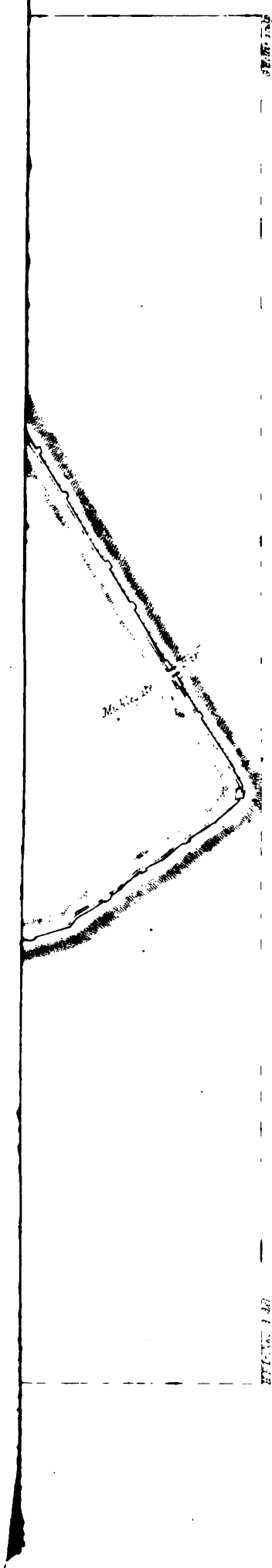
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1811

1811

MAP OF THE FORTIFICATIONS OF YORK.

As far as the Author May See



THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

FORTIFICATIONS

TO THE

CITY OF YORK,



MONK BAR.



MONK BAR.

BY

HENRY F. LOCKWOOD, AND ADOLPHUS H. CATES,

ARCHITECTS.

*"Sure posterity maye wel curse thys wicked facte of our age, thys
unreasonable spoile of Englandes moste noble antiquities, unless they
be stayed in tyme, and by the art of pryncypall be brought into a noble
of coppies."*

Laborious Journey.

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P. 73/932

TO THE
RIGHT HON. JAMES BARBER,
LORD MAYOR;
THE WORSHIPFUL THE ALDERMEN;
THE SHERIFFS;
THE COUNCIL OF TWENTY-FOUR;
AND TO THE
COMMON COUNCILMEN,
OF
THE CITY OF YORK,

THESE RECORDS OF THE MILITARY IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO THE
LIMITS UNDER THEIR JURISDICTION, AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE
NOBLE REMAINS WHICH THEY HAVE PROVED THEMSELVES SO FULLY
TO APPRECIATE,

ARE, WITH PERMISSION,

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY THEIR

GRATEFUL AND OBEDIENT SERVANTS,

THE AUTHORS,

London, January 1834.

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P R E F A C E.

THE history of any locality, however extensive, will present a disconnected chain of events, if compared with the whole of which it forms a part. A little space may give birth to an enterprise, that involves an empire in its consequences, and is, as often, the theatre wherein the daring attempts of ambition are brought to their conclusion; but to trace the one from its source, and to follow the other through all the vicissitudes of fortune, would entail discussions, which, however delightful to a philosophic mind, serve only to obscure the object on which it would be desirable to throw all possible pre-eminence.

York, from the earliest period, has sustained an importance so distinguished in our national annals, that brevity in reciting the portion only which immediately affects its martial character, becomes almost unattainable, especially if any system of concatenation be attempted; and the consequent rejection of civic, and ecclesiastical history, adds to the difficulty of avoiding a disjointed transcript.

The silence of some writers, the conflicting evidence of others, and the scepticism of modern authors, are obstacles, with which all must contend, and it is only by strict investigation, and an endeavour to corroborate their assertions by existing antiquities, that more can be elucidated, than the bare traditions of the first developement of this venerable City.

Equally the key to northern supremacy, and the barrier to Scottish aggrandizement, its military strength formed the subject of anxious solicitude to England's most puissant monarchs, and to this alone must York ascribe every other dignity of which it stands possessed. Its proud superiority rendered it the victim to every horror of successful invasion, and yet, the City rose again from its ashes, to strike an expiring blow, in the support of falling monarchy. Although from that period, York has

declined in warlike reputation, its multitude of towers arouses feelings of deep interest, even in those who possess little relish for the lore of antiquity.

It must be admitted, few cities can boast of such complete illustration, as that bestowed on York by the researches of the learned Mr. Drake, the more recent volumes by Mr. Hargrove, and by the splendid publications by Mr. Britton; yet, on a closer investigation, it is certain, that those remains, to which York must impute the magnificence it assumed in the days of our progenitors, have not found the consecutive disquisition they have so justly deserved.

To supply this deficiency, the contents of the following pages are designed, wherein every event connected with the Fortifications has been sedulously collected, and chronologically arranged. Many original conclusions have been drawn, especially during the Roman dominion, but, where indebted to the labors of other writers, the authority has been faithfully recorded. The work, on its first announcement, met with such encouragement and patronage, that no exertion has been spared to render it a complete epitome: the history and description have much extended beyond the original intention, and some plates have been added, more than the prospectus guaranteed to the subscribers.

Should the result prove satisfactory to the cognoscenti of this enlightened age, it is purposed to continue the subject, with a view to illustrate the Ancient Military Architecture of this country.

In this sketch, the authors have to acknowledge the kind assistance of several friends. To the Rev. W. CUTHBERT, and Mr. THOMAS MOULE, their best thanks are due; and to Mr. ROBERT DAVIES, of York, they profess no common obligation for the valuable information which that gentleman, alone, had the power to afford them.

THE
HISTORY OF THE FORTIFICATIONS OF YORK,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE YEAR

MDCCCXXXIV.

ACCORDING to the history of the primitive inhabitants of this country given by Hollinshed, Samothès the son of Japhet was their first Ruler, and his descendants retained the sovereignty during the space of 341 years.

Albion,* the son of Neptune, supplanted this dynasty, and the island remained in the custody of his posterity for the further term of 600 years, when Brutus,† at the head of his followers, effected a full possession of the whole realm of Britain.‡

The deaths of Brutus, Locrinus, his widow Gwendolena, and Madan, made way for Mempricius, whom all writers load with every vice that can degrade humanity. He was followed by his son Ebraucus, whose character formed the strongest contrast to his father's, and we learn that twenty-one wives produced him twenty sons and thirty daughters;—but what is more important to our annals, after a successful expedition into Gaul, whence he returned with honour and spoils, “**he buildded the Citie of Caerbrauke, now called York, about the 14 yeare of his reign.**”§ He devoted his energies to the prosperity of the infantine capital, and after a reign of forty years|| died, and was buried in Caer Ebrauc. A.M.
2983.

The reigns of thirteen successors (of whom Brutus II., Rivallus, Gurgustius, and Iago, were buried in this City,) terminated in the joint dominion of Ferres and Porrex. These kings perished in a tumult of their own subjects, on which the princes of the island strove for superiority during fifty years, when Dunwallon, King of Cornwall, obtained a victory over his competitors. The names of fifty-three monarchs swell this history from the accession of Dunwallon to the coming of the Romans, few of whom, however, claim any interest,¶ excepting Belinus, to whom has been ascribed the formation of those roads which, undoubtedly,

* This Albion bestowed his name on the newly acquired territory.—*Hollinshed's Chron.*, vol. I.

† From this Hero, who brought with him a fleet of 324 ships, he also derives the change in the appellation of the island.—*Hollinshed*, vol. I.

‡ This account is given by Nennius, Abbot of Banchor, near Chester, who is supposed to have flourished in the 7th Century, and is supported by Sigibertus Gemblacensis, a French writer, in his *Treatise on the Origin of the Romans, the Persians, Franks, and the Britons*. Hollinshed copied his, chiefly, from the *Writing of Jeffrey of Monmouth*, whose theory is defended by Aaron Thompson, the editor, in the Preface to the ed. 1780. Edward I., in his Address to Pope Boniface VIII., introduces the whole story, to justify his claim to the Scottish crown: some proof that it was once considered deserving of belief.

§ Hollinshed's *Chronicles*, vol. I, p. 12. See also *Matt. Westmonasteriensis*, vol. I.

|| Caxton adds twenty years to the length of his reign.—*Cronycles of Englonde*, ed. 1480.

¶ Caxton, in his “*Cronycles of Englonde*,” mentions the reigns of “Reignold the son of Conedage, and Corbodan,” who both were interred in Caer Ebrauc. Ed. 1480.

were the result of Roman policy. On part of the forest, (afterwards called the forest of Galtres,)* within a short distance of *Caer Ebrauc*, this *Belinus* gave utter defeat to the machinations of *Brennus*, and, shortly afterwards, called together a council in that city, to decide the fate of the *Dacian King*: a furious storm at sea, having placed that monarch in his power.

Archingallus, one of these traditionary sovereigns, was ignominiously expelled, and his brother *Elidurus* elected to fill the vacant throne: hunting, one day, near *Caer Ebrauc*, he discovered the exiled prince wandering in the woods, and conveyed him to the City of *Aclud*, (or *Aldborough*,) where he prevailed on his nobles again to receive him for their king, and, proceeding thence to *Caer Ebrauc*, reduced the inferiors to the same obedience.

Numerous Authors have displayed their eloquence to prove the greater probability of other fictions, which, by their unpretending simplicity alone derive greater plausibility. Thus, *Buchanan* has his followers in the theory of the foundation of *Eboracum* by a colony of Gauls, driven, either from *Ebora*, a town in Portugal, or from *Ebura* in Andalusia, by the Romans or Carthaginians.

Drake and others, on the words of *Alcwin*, a native, and the earliest known historian of *York*,

“ *Hanc Romana manus muris, et turribus, altam,*

“ *Fundavit primo* ”—

have assigned it entirely to Roman origin: yet nearly all derive its etymology from circumstances purely British.†

The *Brigantes*, who with the rest of their countrymen, most probably were of Celtic origin, undoubtedly possessed this portion of the country on *Cæsar*'s invasion, and were considered the most numerous and warlike people of Britain. *Julius Cæsar* himself records the manner, certainly slight, in which the southern tribes protected their dwellings; and, although no particular fact marks the fall of *Caer Ebrauc*, yet, all admitting superior skill in the northern warriors, we can hardly refuse them some defences of a military nature.‡ If solely the offspring of Roman hands, how is it we find British kings, so shortly after the invaders had taken root, living in this city, and bestowing their relics on it, unless, indeed, they were in a state of absolute bondage, which there is no warranty to suppose, since we are informed *Eboracum* was governed by its own laws?§ *Verstegan* and *Lloyd* both affirm the ancient Britons had a city, which they called *Caer Effroc*.

The various states into which Britain was divided on *Cæsar*'s first landing, unanimously chose *Casibelanus* for their chief, who opposed, with questionable success, the several attempts
B.C. 54. to subdue them. *Casibelanus* was buried in *Caer Ebrauc*.||

During the time of the Roman Emperors, *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, and *Caligula*, the liberties of our aborigines remained undisturbed; and *Theomantius*, *Cymbeline*, and *Arviragus*, ruled

* *Calæterium nemus*.—*Jeffrey of Monmouth*.

† *Camden*, p. 875, vol. II, *Gibson*'s ed. “My opinion is, that the word *Eburacum* comes from the river *Ure*; implying its situation to be upon that river.” Thus the *Eburovices* in France were situated by the river *Ure*, near *Eureux* in Normandy.

‡ *Ibid*. By *Camden*'s quotation from *Juvenal*, “*Dirue Maurorum attegias, et castra Brigantum*,” or rather “*Dirue Maurorum attegias: castella Brigantum*,” which is the true reading according to the editions Ven. 1486; Par. 1505; Bas. 1551; Lon. 1620; Amstel, 1684, &c.; Sat. xiv.; it would appear that this people had some knowledge of castrametation, and did not confine their defences to mere earthworks.

§ *Eboracum* was converted into a Municipium by *Antoninus Pius*.—*Richard of Cirencester's Itin.*

|| *Hollinshed's Chron. Eng.*, vol. I.

in safety; but the refusal of Guiderius to pay the imposed tribute, brought Claudius upon them. This Emperor had appointed Aulus Plautius lieutenant of the 2nd, 9th, 14th, and 20th A.D. 43. legions, of which Claudius himself took the command in the following year, and says Suetonius, after a campaign of sixteen days, reduced Camelodunum.* P. Ostorius Scapula succeeded Aulus Plautius, and made the first attack on the Brigantes; but does not appear to have done so with any effect.

Shortly after this, Avitus Didius Gallus turned his power to overthrow those who had taken up arms in defence of their King Venutius, amongst whom were the inhabitants of *Caer Ebrauc*. *Cartismandua*, his wife, had basely deserted with his armour bearer *Vellocatus*; but they, even with the assistance of part of the Brigantes, aided by the Roman arms, could not withstand the enraged husband, who drove them from his territory.†

Petelius Cerealis, who under the government of *Suetonius Paulinus* had narrowly escaped, with the cavalry of the 9th legion, from the fury of *Boadicea*, Queen of the *Iceni*, assumed the lieutenantancy by the appointment of *Vespasian*, and by his determined attack on the *Brigantes*, is said to have struck the Britons with terror; but *Agricola*, on whom during the reign of the British *Marius*, the supreme authority was conferred, entirely subdued this brave people. A.D. 71. He penetrated to the mouth of the river *Tay* in his expedition, and the greater part of the following year was spent in securing his conquests.‡ A.D. 80.

At this period, the attention of the Romans was first drawn to the site which the British City on the banks of the *Ure* is supposed to have occupied; and the writings of *Hyginus*, and *Polybius*, who have treated on the manner of *Castrametation*, adopted by *Agricola*, considerably strengthen this opinion. *Hyginus*, in prescribing the limits requisite for the encampment of three legions, fixes the extreme length at two thousand four hundred feet, and the depth at sixteen hundred feet: a proportion, esteemed the best, and termed "*tertiata*." This arrangement, if applied, will be found singularly to agree with the remains at York, and the fact of *Agricola* having with him in this campaign the 2nd, 9th, and 20th legions forms a strong inducement to pursue the enquiry. From the Multangular Tower§ to the termination of the fortifications in the north-easterly direction, the extent aptly complies with the lesser dimension given by *Hyginus*, and the larger, if laid down on the line of the foundations of the Roman wall, towards the castle, will terminate on the banks of the Foss. The parallel to the latter would be the Monk Bar Walls, which, however, require increased length from the round tower, in the angle near *Layrethorp Postern*, to render our figure complete, and this deficiency has been fully supplied by the discovery of the Roman masonry, running in a course S.S.E. in the church yard of *St. Cuthbert*. Of the four entrances|| to *Agricola's* encampment, that in the front was named the *Quæstorian*, or *Prætorian*, and that in the rear, the *Decuman Gate*, and these were in the centre of the sides on which they were placed; whilst the inferior Gates to the right and left of the camp, although facing each other, were not so conformable to

* Now Colchester.—*Gen. Roy on Rom. Remains in Brit.* The first colony planted in Britain.—*Tacit. Annal.* 12: 32.

† *Camden's Brit.*, vol. II. p. 843, ascribes this enterprise to P. Ostorius Scapula, who died A.D. 55; and endeavours to rectify a mistake of *Tacitus*, who speaking of *Venutius*, makes him "*e civitate Jugantum*," which he really was; being King of the *Jugantes*, and connected with the *Brigantes* by his marriage with *Cartismandua*, Queen of that people.

‡ *Gen. Roy's Mil. Rem. in Brit.*

§ See Map of Fortifications.

|| Six gates were sometimes used.

regularity. The Prætorium, as described by Polybius, was always established on the highest ground, in a direct line between the Quæstorian and Decuman Gates;—two hundred and fifty feet in advance of the latter, and extending to within fifty feet of the street, connecting the lateral entrances to the encampment. This assigns the ground now covered by the Bedern,* College Street, part of Aldwark, and also of Goodram Gate, to the site devoted to the chief in command, and fixes the Decuman Gate where Monk Bar now stands: † Bootham would have its opposite at the Foss Bridge, and the Quæstorian must be sought for on the line of wall, hidden by the buildings, from Lendal to the Castle. Further,—Hyginus mentions the manner of fortifying the angles of a camp, which were called “coxæ,” from their resemblance to the knuckle joint; being towers, struck with a radius of thirty feet, three quarters of their circumference projecting without the walls. With this, the Multangular Tower so closely agrees, that notwithstanding the whole diameter being but the length of the prescribed radius, it lays strong claim to Roman origin; and though probably not the work of Agricola, whose camps were surrounded merely by the agger and ditch, his successors would make every use of his previous labour, and convert his temporary precautions,‡ into lasting bulwarks.

Domitian, jealous of the fame acquired by Agricola, recalled him, A. D. 85, from which A.D. 120. time, until the arrival of Hadrian, little is written on the affairs in Britain. Horsley, in his *Britannia Romana*, supposes the 9th legion to have been stationary at Eboracum, before the arrival of Hadrian, who introduced the 6th,§ with which the former was shortly incorporated.||

In this interval we must place the death of Coillus, the British King, whose remains were entombed within this city, and who was succeeded by his son Lucius, the last of the fabled line of Brutus.

Hadrian had sent over the legion styled *Legio Sexta Victrix*, and restored that tranquillity, which the restless spirit of the Britons had considerably undermined, and would have prosecuted his victories in Caledonia, had he not been dissuaded from the attempt by some of Agricola's soldiers, whom he found still in Eboracum.¶ In memory of this expedition, on his return to Rome, medals were struck, bearing on the reverse *RESTITVTOR BRITANNIAE*.

Under the government of Marcus Aurelius, Lucius became a convert to Christianity: he shortly after died at Gloucester. His death was the signal for civil war, and the Caledonians, breaking through the barriers successively raised to repress them, by Agricola, Hadrian, and

* Drake was led to suppose the Palatium situated on the ground occupied by the Bedern, from the words “in Bederna civitatis Eboraci” being employed to mark the birth place of Constantine the Great.—*Hist. Ebor.*

† Many years ago, workmen employed in digging, met with a paved road eight feet below the present surface without this Bar. Probably it might be the Roman Way.

‡ The camps of Agricola at Torwood Moor, Cleghorn, Battle Dykes in Strathmore, Kirkboddie, Lintrose and Towford, as shewn in Gen. Roy's work on Roman Military Remains in Britain, perfectly assimilate with the indications still existing at York.

§ Horsley's *Brit. Romana*. ch. vi., places the arrival of the 6th legion A. D. 117, when Hadrian was emperor, Julius Severus governor of Britain, and Quinctius Niger, and Vips. Apronianus, consuls.

|| This idea is strongly supported by the discovery, in the year 1688, in Trinity Gardens near Micklegate Bar, of the sepulchral monument of the standard bearer to the ninth legion; and in 1768, of a tomb, to the west of the Bar, the tiles of which bore the impress, *LEG. IX. HIS.* After their incorporation with the sixth, they assumed the title of *Victrix* in common with that legion, of which an example has been found in this city, stamped on a Roman brick, *LEG. IX. VIC.*

¶ Drake, *Hist. Ebor.*

Sir Thos. Widdrington, in his MS. deduces this change in the appellation, from *Civitas Ebrauci*, or *Eboraci*, to *Eboracum*, by which title it appears in Antonin. Itin. with the adjunct *LEG. VI. VIC.*

Lollius Urbicus, fell upon the Roman army under an inexperienced leader, and penetrated to the Municipium itself.*

From the first settlement of the 6th legion at Eboracum, it was regarded as a military colony, from which it had been raised to the dignity of Municipium by Antoninus Pius, perhaps as an inducement to peaceable demeanour during that turbulent period. It strongly corroborates the evidences of those authors, who argue the prior existence of the British City, and infers the continued residence of a considerable body of the natives, to whom it could not but be gratifying, to be subject only to their own laws, since such was the privilege of the Municipium. Camden, from the impress COL. EBORACVM LEG. VI. VICTRIX, on the coins of Severus, endeavours to disprove this; but nothing is more probable than for that despotic Emperor, immediately on his occupation of Eboracum, to reduce it again to a Colony, the presence of the concentrated power of Rome, rendering courteous observance of the native Britons, unnecessary.

Commodus, in whose reign this inroad was made, immediately despatched Marcellus Ulpius A.D. 180. to support the falling reputation of the Roman arms. He successfully opposed the Caledonians, but on his return to Eboracum, the soldiery, oppressed by what they considered too strict a discipline, broke into open mutiny, and he with difficulty escaped to Rome. Pertinax, his successor, experienced similar treatment from the 9th legion, by which it would appear some distinction yet remained between it and the 6th, of which, however, we meet with no recurrence.

The convulsions of the Roman world, during the struggle for the supreme authority, attracted the ambition of Clodius Albinus, governor of Britain, who deserted the scene of peaceful rule, to perish in his opposition to the preferment of Septimius Severus. The absence of the greater part of the legions, induced the Britons to attempt the recovery of their liberties. Aided by the Caledonians, they advanced boldly to the conflict, and pressed the proprætor, Virius Lupus, so closely, that he forthwith was constrained to sue for aid from the state itself.

Severus, although depressed by infirmity, happy to draw from the eyes of Rome the degeneracy of his sons, readily embraced the opportunity, and, attended by his whole court, proceeded to the British Isles. On his approach, the Caledonians withdrew behind the Roman A.D. 208. Vallum, whither, however, the Emperor determined to follow them, and made his preparations at Eboracum, from which he departed with his son Caracalla, deputing Geta, under the superintendence of the noble Pápinian, to administer justice in the Prætorium. The loss of fifty thousand men detracted from the glory of this expedition, which served but to exasperate the intrepid barbarians, who, as soon as the legions had retreated, again broke forth in all the pride of hostility. Severus journeyed to Eboracum, leaving the 6th legion to assist in building the northern wall, after which, says Aelius Spartianus, they retired "ad proximam mansionem," (placed by Horsley at Carlisle,†) and shortly afterwards re-occupied their old station.

* Eboracum was originally a colony of the sixth legion, but was made a municipium by Antoninus Pius.—Richard of Cirencester, Itin. lib. I, cap. vi. "Eboraco municip. olim colonia sexta m. p." Richard mentions but two municipia, Verolanium, and Eboracum, at a time when he states ninety-two cities to have been in existence, thirty-three of which were of superior consequence. Lib. I. cap. vii. Antoninus Pius died A. D. 161.

† The residence of the sixth legion at Carlisle is rendered indisputable, by the inscription found there, LEG. VI. VIC. P. F. G. P. R. F.

On the authority of this Spartianus, almost every writer has recorded the return of Severus to Eboracum, marked by circumstances highly delectable to the superstitious. The Emperor, desirous to thank the gods for the success of his enterprise, led by the mistake of a country soothsayer* to the temple of Bellona, turned thence in anger, and proceeded to the Palatium, followed by black sacrifices; an incident fraught with evil presages, if the creed of omens be admitted. Without, however, examining the veracity of the historian, or refuting the follies of divination, the probability of such an occurrence may be safely questioned. Is it reasonable to suppose that Severus, the conqueror of the civilized world, on his triumphant entry into a city like Eboracum, attended by his court, and received by Geta and Papinian, should have resigned himself to the guidance of an ignorant Augur, when surrounded by thousands who had been busily engaged in preparations for a suitable reception?

Worn by disease and fatigue, and distracted by the unnatural attempts of Caracalla to shorten a father's reign, Severus sensibly felt the approach of death, and assembling his court around him, recommended his sons to the esteem of the army, and addressing his rebellious offspring, advised them to cherish the soldiery, and concluded saying, "I leave the empire in peace—even to the Britons." He expired at Eboracum, in the sixty-fifth year of his life, and in the eighteenth of his reign.† His body, habited in the imperial garments, was borne from the city by the military, and deposited on a magnificent pile, erected on one of those hills to the west of Eboracum, still bearing the name of the deceased monarch. Here the last sad ceremonies were performed, and the ashes being collected into a porphoryte urn, were carried by the princes to Rome, and deposited in the monument of the Antonines in the Capitol.‡

The troubles of the state again enabled the Britons to make head against the authority of Rome, until Aurelian commissioned Constantius Chlorus to repel them. Having restored obedience, he married Helena,§ a British lady, and established himself in the capital of Maxima Cæsariensis. The duration of his residence is not known; but whilst in Britain, the best chronologists place the birth of Constantine the Great, and the evidence of those who aver the contrary, in some instances, gives value to the presumption. Gibbon gives the preference to Naissus,|| but immediately states, that Constantine was about eighteen years of age when his father was promoted to the rank of Cæsar, A.D. 292, which places his nativity at the time Constantius was engaged in the affairs of Britain. The words of Eumenius his panegyrist, "Britannias illic oriendo nobiles fecisti," the assertion of Bucholt, "A.D. 272, Constantius Magnus hoc anno in Britannia Natus, patre Constantio, et Matre Helena," and the quotation by Drake, that Constantine was born "in Bederna Civitatis Eboraci," are surely, in the absence of better authority, sufficient to locate that event within the walls of the Domus

* *Aruspex rusticus.*

† Gibbon, ch. vi.

‡ Drake, in *Hist. Ebor.* by a mistake in the death of Severus, was led to imagine the murders of Geta and Papinian perpetrated in Eboracum. He places the demise of Severus, 5th Feb. 212; Geta perished 27th Feb. 212: hence the error.

§ Drake, in *Hist. Ebor.* states Helena to be the daughter of Coillus, consequently the sister to Lucius, who, according to his own testimony, embraced christianity during the reign of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the successor of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 161. Now as Constantius did not appear in Britain until after the accession of Aurelian, A.D. 270, the daughter of Coillus must have presented rather an antique appearance, and most especially at the time of her divorce from Constantius, which took place about eighteen years after the birth of her son Constantine the Great.

|| Gibbon, *Decl., &c.* ch. xiv.

Palatina at Eboracum. The expression, too, "Bederna," confirms the site of that Palatium to be the very same assigned to the Prætorium, by the writings of Polybius.

The ravages committed by the brigantines of the Franks, on the sea coasts, obliged the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian, to despatch a fleet to put an end to their desultory incursions, and the command of it they intrusted to Carautius, a Briton of low birth, but of daring courage. Seeking only his own aggrandisement, he landed in Britain, and assuming the A.D. 287. imperial purple, had himself proclaimed at Eboracum. By the assistance of the Caledonians he was enabled to defeat Quintus Bassianus, who had been sent with a force to dispossess and destroy him, and entering into a league with his new allies, gave up to them all the land from the Vallum in the North, to the very walls of his capital.* For seven years he retained his usurped domain, and fell at last by the hand of his minister Allectus. The assassin A.D. 294. enjoyed but a short ascendancy, and soon received the reward for his crime and his temerity. Constantine Chlorus moved his powers against him, and he perished in an engagement with the præfect Asclepiodatus, which took place in the neighbourhood of Londinium.† Thus Britain was again united with the empire, after a dismemberment of ten years.

This expedition, and an easy victory over the barbarians of Caledonia, were the last exploits of the reign of Chlorus. His son had escaped to him from his colleague Galerius, in time to A.D. 306. receive the instructions of his dying parent, who ended his life at Eboracum, fifteen months July. after obtaining the dignity of Augustus, and little more than fourteen years after Diocletian had conferred on him the title of Cæsar.‡ Constantine, who soon became the Great, was forcibly elected by the legions on the spot, and deserting Britain to gratify his ambition on a wider field, dated the decline of Eboracum. In the twentieth year of his reign, the Britons, under the command of Octavius, rebelled, but were defeated by Traherus, and their general obliged to fly for protection to Fincomark, king of Caledonia. His refusal to deliver up the fugitive was the occasion of hostilities, in which the Roman lieutenant suffered severely, and not even daring to sustain a siege within the ramparts of Eboracum, evacuated that city on the approach of the conquerors. Here Octavius was crowned king, but soon discovering the inclination to dispossess his allies of the territory formerly granted them by Carautius, Fincomark came suddenly upon him, and he fled with precipitation into Norway. After the death of Constantine, their inroads were extended, until Theodosius, in the reign of Valen- A.D. 367, 379. tinian, once more cleared the island of its invaders, and left it a sound member of the Roman world. The revolt of Maximus drew forth the strength of Britain, and the country, by this A.D. 383. emigration, is calculated to have lost the services of one hundred and thirty thousand men.§ The elections and murders of Marcus and Gratian, and the immediate choice of Constantine for his name alone, by the rebellious legions, all transpired in Britain, about the commencement of the fifth century, without affording any particular event connected with the fate of Eboracum. These successive commotions weakened the native resources of the British isle, which during the reign of Honorius, was left an easy prey to its merciless enemies.

* Drake, Hist. Ebor.

† Now London.

‡ Eutropius speaking of Constantius Chlorus, says, "obiit in Britannia Eboraci principatus autem tertio decimo et inter divos relatus est."

§ Archb. Usher, Antiq. Brit. Eccles. Great part of this host afterwards settled in Armorica, and were joined by many of those who quitted their native country in the service of Constantine, about twenty years after the first emigration.

It is almost impossible to trace the gradual rise of Eboracum in Roman dignity, from the encampment formed by Agricola, to that proud pre-eminence, which called forth the epithets of admiration, to be found in the writings of that and later periods; yet the cause must unhesitatingly be conceded to its importance as a military station, and to the prolonged residence of the most powerful potentates. So early as the reign of Antoninus Pius, Eboracum had greatly increased in power,* and, from the rank it then assumed, must have outstepped the bounds of the primitive camp. The law of the twelve tables expressly forbade interments within the cities of the state, from which, by the sepulchral monuments found within the compass of the lines, to the west of the river Ouse, we may conclude the limits of the city were still very circumscribed. Here the inscriptions yet discovered, are chiefly of the ninth legion, which preserved its cognomen only during the earlier times; whilst without the present walls, innumerable relics mark the general cemetery of the Romans. The splendour attendant on the movements of the Emperor Severus, must have greatly augmented its opulence; but to Constantius Chlorus, or to Carautius, it is most likely indebted for the extent of its present fortifications, since the confusion from the departure of the Romans, to the landing of William the Conqueror, would, doubtless, preclude the possibility of so great an undertaking. The suburbs of its great prototype, Rome, at this time receiving similar protection,† shows an anxiety to employ every means to arrest the further encroachment of the numerous hordes, which threatened annihilation, even to Rome, and soon overwhelmed the British province.

Deprived of arms by the jealousy of their conquerors, and weakened by the loss of those who were able to wield them, the Britons fell an instant sacrifice to the fury of the Picts and Scots, who now rushed from their recesses, broke down the northern barriers, and seized on Eboracum itself. The wretched inhabitants fled before them, and, in a fit of despair, besought the aid of the Saxons.

Hengist's arrival freed the country south of the Tees, and he then retired to York,‡ for the specious motive of refreshing his wearied troops. Vortigern, the British king, besides the promised guerdon, granted the Saxons a hold in the land, and even married their general's daughter. The constant aggressions of their chosen deliverers, soon gave the Britons fresh cause for alarm, who, resolving at last to rely on themselves, convened an assembly of their bravest men, and sending for Aurelius Ambrosius, prince of Armorica, prepared to defend themselves to the last extremity. Hengist, on this, dispatched his son Octa to secure the fortresses in the north; but especially York, where, on various pretences, he sacrificed the lives of its wealthiest citizens.

Roused to desperate exertion, and having at their head a skilful general, in the person of

* Itin Antoninus.

† The outer line of fortifications, at Rome, were commenced by the emperor Aurelian, A.D. 271, and completed under Probus. They betray as noble a contempt of scientific arrangement, according to modern tactics, as the remains at York.

‡ The confusion wrought by certain learned commentators, in their endeavours to explain the change from Eboracum to York, has induced the authors to employ the modern name throughout the remainder of the work. In the Saxon Chronicle it is written *Eþeppic & Eoþoppic*, and in Domesday Book, indiscriminately, Eboracum, Civitas Eborum, and Eurwic. The most obvious derivation is from the river on which it is situated, (since, at that time, it bore the name of Eure as low as the City,) added to "wic," the Saxon for "a refuge:" i. e. a refuge on the Eure: a name it well deserved. In a description of York, tempus Charles II. published in Grose's Antiq. Repert., it is represented as standing on the Yourre, and the city is entitled Yourck.

Vortimer,* they overthrew the Saxons in four several battles before the arrival of Ambrosius, and would entirely have extirpated them, had not innumerable reinforcements swarmed upon the coast. Hengist perished at Conisborough, but his sons, Octa and Eosa, escaped, the former taking refuge in York, and the latter in Aclud, now Aldborough. Aurelius Ambrosius, who commanded in the last engagement, quickly pursued them, and in a few days summoned Octa to surrender. The prince called a council of his friends to consider the expediency of a siege, but terrified by his father's fate, he resolved on trying the victor's clemency, and with his adherents came forth, having chains round their necks, and dust on their heads, in token of abject submission. Eosa followed his example, and both, by the foolish clemency of the British monarch, were permitted to dwell near the Scottish frontier. On the death of Ambrosius, the A.D. 400. Saxon princes again raised a powerful force, with which they wasted the country to the very walls of York, and proceeded to invest the city. Here, however, they were disturbed by Uther Pendragon, the newly made king, suffered a signal defeat, and again became prisoners of war; but subsequently contrived their escape.

The renowned Arthur, crowned at the early age of eighteen years, soon found the sons of A.D. 516. Hengist arrayed against him. His youth had revived their hopes, and they returned from a foreign shore, once more to attempt the conquest of England. They made themselves masters of the north, and dividing it between them, Octa retained the southern portion which he named Deira, and Eosa's became the province of Bernicia.† Arthur pushed the campaign with such vigour, that Octa was happy to deliver his kingdom to the care of Baldulphus and Colgrin. The latter instantly advanced to combat with Arthur, whilst his partner in the war retired to the sea coast with a body of six thousand men, to secure the landing of Childric with succours from Germany. A sanguinary fight terminated in the retreat of Colgrin to York, closely pursued by his adversary. Baldulphus, hearing of the defeat, set forward with his small army, intending to surprise Arthur in the night. The activity of that prince, however, disconcerted his measures, and Cador, Duke of Cornwall, being despatched with 3000 foot and 600 horse to intercept him, fell upon the Saxons when within ten miles of the city, and rendered them totally incapable of affording any assistance to their beleaguered countrymen. Baldulphus thus chagrined, put on the habit of a minstrel, shaved his head and beard, and carrying a harp in his hand, entered the British trenches without suspicion. Gradually approaching the city, he was at length discovered by the centinels, and drawn up the walls by a rope in the night, and thus with his brother was enabled to concert measures for their deliverance. Colgrin escaped to hasten Childric and his host, and Baldulphus defended the "*walles so stoutlie, making often issues foorth upon the Brittaines,*" that Arthur had made but little progress, when the approach of winter, and the Saxon army, compelled him to raise A.D. 520. the siege.‡ The ensuing spring found the prince prepared to renew the encounter, and the result of the conflict on the Badon hills, evinced the prowess of a skilful and unconquerable commander. 90,000 Saxons bit the dust: all their generals fell in the battle, or the pursuit,

* Vortimer, the son of Vortigern.—*Hollinshed's Chron. of England*.

† The extent of these provinces has occasioned much discussion. Deira, of which York was the capital, is supposed to have originally included Yorkshire, Lancashire, Durham, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and part of Northumberland; though afterwards curtailed to that portion of the county called the East Riding. Bernicia comprehending the lands northward, to the Frith of Edinburgh.

‡ Hollinshed, vol. I., p. 90; and Hist. Scot., p. 102. This siege lasted three months.

and the submission of York was the instant consequence. Here Arthur celebrated the Christmas festivals, in the midst of excess and debauchery, and by relaxing the military discipline, undermined the boasted superiority of his soldiery. He found time however to repair what damage the Pict and Scot, the Saxon and himself had wrought on the finest buildings in the city. Rebellion robbed England of its brave defender; and the British, unable longer to withstand the fury of their fierce assailants, sought a refuge in the Cambrian Mountains. Their apportioned lands became the Saxon Heptarchy, and York, the capital of Northumbria, fell to the share of Ida, a reputed descendant from the God Woden.

Edwin, the infant son of Ella, the first Anglo Saxon King of Deira, being driven from his inheritance by the ambition of his restless neighbour, the monarch of Bernicia, after various ramblings, found an asylum in the court of Redwald, the ruling prince of the East Angles. The ultimate refusal to deliver up Edwin to the insatiable Ethelfrith, amounted to a declaration of war, and both parties prepared for the contest. The struggle was short, yet decisive, and

A.D. 617. Edwin was restored, not only to his throne in York, but received from the hands of his benefactor, the kingdom of Bernicia also.* His subsequent marriage with Ethelburgha the Princess of Kent, and his remarkable conversion to christianity, appertain more to civil than to military history; yet the circumstance of York not possessing one small edifice in which to perform the baptismal rites, greatly illustrates the devastations it had sustained.† After a narrow escape of being assassinated at Derventio by one Eamer, a villain suborned by Quichelm of the West Saxons, he lost his crown and his life in a battle with Cadwallo, the British king of Wales, and Penda the pagan of Mercia.‡ Edwin's only son, Osfrid, perished in this fight, and whilst the Welsh monarch possessed himself of York, the Northumbrians proceeded to elect Osric and Eanfrid to the governments of Deira and Bernicia. The former, in the hope to deliver his capital, ventured to beset Cadwallo, but the furious chieftain disdain to be thus braved, rushed forth from the gates, and quickly prostrated Osric and the daring of his adherents. Eanfrid, perceiving the futility of opposition, and rashly attending the court at York with only twelve followers, was treacherously seized, and immediately sacrificed to the barbarity of the Welsh king.

A.D. 634. A battle on the field of Dennisburn liberated Northumbria from this savage monster, and Oswald, the brother of the two unfortunate princes, peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his hardly obtained victory.

In the midst of every vicissitude, the sceptre of Deira was successively held by Oswin, Adelwald, and on the death of the latter without issue, by Oswy, jointly with Bernicia; by

A.D. 730. Alfred, until displaced by Ecgrid, Alfred restored, Osred, Ceonred and by Osric, when the crown devolved on Ceolwulf, the patron of Bede. Early in the reign of Eadbert, the

* Turner's Hist. Anglo Saxons, vol. I.

† Edwin's wooden church is thus alluded to by Gent., Hist. York, p. 8,—“he caused a little church to be erected of boards and timber, where formerly stood the temple of Diana, some say Bellona, in the city of York, which he devoutly dedicated to the honour of God and St. Peter, and was therein baptized, 12th April, being Easter Sunday, in the year of our Lord 627. Tradition has ever pointed to the site of the cathedral, as that originally occupied by a Roman temple, and an accident at length confirmed the rumour. The fall of the timbers during the fire on the 2nd February, 1829, broke through the floor of the choir, and discovered a mine of curiosity below. A further considerable portion of the Norman church was exposed, and closely connected with it to the west, the lateral foundations of a Roman temple.

‡ Saxon. Chron. (Ingram), sub hoc anno, p. 33.

city suffered by a conflagration,* but the extent of the injury is not related. Osulf, the son of A.D. 740. Eadbert, was supplanted by Mull Edewold, and he again by Alred, who reigned during eight winters, when the Northumbrians banished their king from York at Easter-tide, and chose A.D. 774. Ethelred the son of Mull for their Lord.† Alfwold, the son of Osulf, subverted the power of Ethelred, and being in due time assassinated, Osred II. was elected and deposed, when Ethelred was again elevated to the monarchy. The hand of a murderer gave Ethelred to the tomb;—Osbald was deposed;—factions drove Eardulf to the territories of Charlemagne;—and the death of Alfwold II. made way for Eanred, one of the last independent rulers of Northumbria.

The supremacy acquired by Egbert over the states of the Heptarchy, did not remain long A.D. 827. unshaken. The predatory incursions of the Danes, after the destruction of Lindisfarn, had gradually assumed a more formidable character, and their desire for plunder increased with their success. The immediate descendants of Egbert, had with difficulty retained a precarious dominion over the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, when these invasions by a new enemy tended to impugn their authority, and the Northumbrians, little fearing the distant powers of Wessex, speedily asserted their independence. Osbriht accepted the dangerous gift of regal dignity, and his licentious tyranny soon revived the factious spirit of his subjects. His brutality to the wife of Buern Bocard, guardian of the sea coasts, provoked the vengeance of that nobleman, who, assembling his partisans, appeared before the king at York, and uttering a bold defiance, renounced all homage—faith—lands—or whatever else he held from the throne.‡ The Bernicians were instigated to a revolt, and their warlike genius, by the influence of their chiefs, was turned to support the claims of Ella; yet the equality of their forces held the contest in suspense, when the blind rage of Bocard buried all in one common ruin. Disappointed in his endeavour altogether to dispossess Osbriht, he sought the court of Denmark, and found small difficulty in exciting the cupidity and ambition of the Dane. Revenge, too, gave vigour to his preparations, and having the following spring assembled an immense fleet, embarked his forces, and landed them first in East Anglia. Osbriht and Ella coalesced against this common foe, which under the command of Hinguar and Hubba, crossed the mouth of the Humber, and bore down upon them. Osbriht alone rashly attempted to oppose them, but was driven back, and closely pursued by the fearless ravagers, entered York. Destruction now spread far and wide. The Danes broke through the crumbling walls,§ and the conflict raged on every side. Ella arrived with his reinforcements, and the invaders thus surrounded, began to shrink under the vigour of their assailants, when despair aroused them to an expiring effort; the two kings fell—the Northumbrians fled—and York was lost in the fury of the spoiler.|| The order to kill, burn, and destroy, was issued by the generals, and A.D. 867.

* Saxon Chron., p. 67. A.D. 740. This year York was on fire.

† Saxon Chron. (Ingram), sub hoc anno, p. 74.

‡ Drake, Hist. Ebor.

§ Asser. Menev., p. 6, speaks of the tottering state of the walls, owing to the Saxon wars, thereby inferring that those now destroyed were in existence before their time.

|| History is extremely contradictory as to the fate of the two kings; but all agree they perished by the hand of the Dane. Some give the city first to the invader, and slay Osbriht and Ella in the endeavour to dispossess them: others immolate Osbriht in his capital, and defeat and slay his ally at a subsequent period; but the Saxon Chron., p. 97, certainly the best authority, alludes to the slaughter of the Northumbrians, some within, and some without the city, and affirms both kings to have been slain on the spot. See also Speed, bk. 7, c. xxxv, p. 354.

the roaring of the flames, and the hideous cries of the dying, blending with the savage yell of the conqueror, showed how faithfully that command was executed.

Hinguar bestowed the country on Hubba, and constituted him governor of York, which office, however, was delegated to Godram, whilst the brothers prosecuted a campaign more to the southward. This officer strengthened the post committed to his charge, and his residence gave a name to one of the Bars, which it retained even to the time of our eighth Henry.* The A.D. 866. Danish generals returned to York after defeating the Mercians at Nottingham, and remained during a whole year to consolidate their victories.†

The deficiency of other evidence, disables us from assigning the erection of the first castle at York, to an earlier epoch, than that under consideration.‡ The great difficulty found in discriminating between the erections of the Normans, and those supposed to have existed before their arrival, must be ascribed to the identity of their derivation.§ The Saxons, excepting their ecclesiastics, were little skilled in the art of fabrication,|| and the first subjection of York by the Norman is rendered more memorable by the building of two castles, to keep the citizens themselves in awe, than marked by the repair of the outward fortifications, which would in some measure have contributed to their protection. Roman, they could not be, since their methods of protecting military entrances are found to be so entirely at variance with the present remains. The Roman forts yet discovered in Britain exhibit but two systems of protecting the gates: the entrance itself being an arch in the line of wall, was covered either by an advanced curtain, or by a portion of the wall projecting in the form of a quadrant; thus obliging all who entered first to expose their flank. Thus must the preference be given to a Danish origin, strengthening the presumption by the appellation bestowed on one portion of the defences.

Hinguar and Hubba placed Egbert, a Saxon, devoted to their service, on the throne of Northumbria, but their assurance increasing, he was soon deprived of his honours, and Rigsidge, a Dane, proclaimed king. The inhabitants unable to brook this affront, murdered Rigsidge, and restored Egbert, whose second reign however was of short duration, for the invaders, having provided against the dangers of plebeian commotions, apportioned the kingdom to three of their officers, Sithric and Nigel, who reigned beyond the Tyne, and Reginald, or Reynold, from the banks of that river to the Humber. These princes, nevertheless, appear to have been tributary to Alfred the Great, who shortly before his death, took the Northumbrian Danes under his own immediate government.¶ His successor, Edward the elder, obtained great superiority over the marauders, but Athelstan's reign was still more disastrous to these Northern settlers. On the death of Sithric, who, on doing homage, had been permitted to retain his dominions, his sons Godfrid and Anlaff raised the standard of revolt quickly to be struck down by the noble Athelstan. He put the princes to flight, reduced the whole of Northumberland, and took the city, but not the castle of York, which being then prodigiously strong,

* Leland's Itin., ed. 1710, "Goodrome Gate or Bar."

† Saxon Chron., sub hoc anno, p. 98.

‡ Gul. Meldunensis, alludes to this castle, "quod olim Dani in Eboraco obfirmaverant," &c. when speaking of its destruction by Athelstan.

§ The Normans themselves were but a successful band of Danes, who, under the command of Rollo, seated themselves in Neustria during the reign of Charles the Simple.

|| William of Malmesbury, p. 102.

¶ Hume, vol. I, pp. 68, 73.

and well manned, resisted every attack.* Godfrid having failed in a project to seize the city, by means of the garrison, the brothers escaped, one into Scotland, the other into Ireland, to obtain assistance. They returned with a promiscuous army of Scotch, Hibernians, Welsh, and a body of pirates whom they had found roving on the Irish seas, and trusting in their numbers, encountered Athelstan at "**Brunanburgh**." Six petty kings of Ireland and Wales, and twelve general officers, perished, before Constantine and Anlaff were driven from the field, with the shattered remnant of their once formidable array, and York at last became A.D. 938. fully in the hands of Athelstan. The destruction of the castle, and the cause, is thus recorded by Robert of Gloucester;†—

"**Pus ye King Athelston agaste yo ys fon,
 Wor hit ne ssolde in yys lond abbe recet non,
 He castel of Euerwyk to grounde he let caste.
 (Wor ys fon were ofte yer inne, ye wule he plaste)
 Dat hit nadde non recet, borto greuy ys lond."**

On the accession of Edmund, the Danes, who now composed the most potent class in A.D. 941. Northumbria, recalled Anlaff from his retreat in Ireland, and that prince, by promises of money, having induced Olaus, king of Norway, to furnish him troops and vessels, suddenly presented himself before the gates of York. This region of England was thus again wrested from the Saxon monarchs; and although Edmund fought bravely to reclaim it, the interposition of the archbishops, Wolstan and Odo, secured it to the Dane. The tax Anlaff was compelled to impose on his subjects, to redeem his engagement with Olaus, excited the disgust of the Bernicians, who despatched a messenger for Reginald, the son of Godfrid, and crowned him king. A war would have ensued between the nephew and the uncle, had not Edmund with an army frightened them to a reconciliation, which ceased the moment they were relieved from the compelling power. Edmund came again upon them, and obliging Godfrid and Anlaff to fly, himself became the sole monarch of England. His death was too tempting an opportunity for rebellion, to be passed by the turbulent Northumbers. Their insurrection, however, was instantly quelled by the presence of Edred, but no sooner was he again in Wessex, than a deputation was sent for their old friend Anlaff, who made such haste to obey the summons, that this puppet of a king was firmly installed before Edred could organize any opposition. During four years Anlaff enjoyed his elevation in tolerable security, when a party of discontented nobles raised one Eric to the throne, and gave birth to a civil war. Edred took full advantage of their folly, and forced both, precipitately, to decamp; but his vengeance being appeased by the burning of Ripon, he recalled Eric, and exacting the oath of allegiance drew off his forces. Perjury, and the basest ingratitude, seemed the delight of this perfidious

* About this time, Harold, king of Norway, sent to Athelstan a ship with a golden beak and a purple sail, furnished within with a deep margin of gilded shields. This was presented to him at York, by the ambassadors Helgrim, and Offria, who were received with great magnificence, and dismissed with a suitable return.—*W. of Malmesbury*, p. 155, ed. 1815.

† Robert of Gloucester, Vol. p. 1. 274. These curious lines may be thus rendered in modern phrase; Thus the King Athelstan confounded all his foes; and that in his land none might have refuge, he threw the castle of York to the ground. For his foes were oft herein while it lasted, and now had no retreat whence to grieve his territory.

race. Observing the disorderly manner of Edred's retreat, they sallied after him, overtook the rear of his army at Castleford, and soon threw it into confusion. The skill and bravery of the English king, alone, saved the honour of the day, and he once more turned his banner against a people whom he solemnly vowed to extirpate. Reduced by the want of success to abject terror, the Northumbrians set no bounds to their servility; professions of faith and obedience were now made in vain, and at length despairing of mercy, they sought consolation in the deaths of Eric, and Amac the son of Anlaff, the imputed authors of their misery. Edred, thus propitiated, reluctantly consented to spare the city of York, but levied the heaviest contributions on the inhabitants, and reduced the whole territory to a province, thenceforth to be governed by Earls. He placed strong garrisons in every fortress, and appointing Osulf, an Anglo Saxon, to preside over and curb these factious spirits, put an end to the kingdom

A.D. 951. of Northumberland.

In the next reign, Ostac was associated in the legal authority; both were succeeded by Waltheof the elder, whose son Uthred, or Ucthred, became the third Earl. The invasion of Sweyn no otherwise affected York than by a change of governors, Hircus or Yricus, being selected by king Canute for that dignity and trust.* Eadulph, surnamed Cutel, Aldred, and Eadulph the second, consecutively ruled these northern counties, until, in the reign of Hardicanute, Siward obtained the earldom, and rendered himself famous by his services to his royal masters. He died at York, lamenting his fate in being deprived of life by an ignoble disease,† and his title was transferred to the unworthy Tosti, the second son of the powerful Earl Godwin, and brother to Harold, afterwards king of England. The brutal conduct of this nobleman, although it provoked the just indignation of those over whom he presided, passed with impunity until he sacrificed to his hate Gamel and Ulphus, two men of great influence in Deira. Tosti escaped with his wife and children, from the fury of the populace, who plundered his palace of arms and treasure, and seizing his followers, consigned two hundred of them to a watery grave, "extra muros civitatis.‡" All the thanes of *Eoforwic-ryce*, and Northumberland, assembled at York, and passing the sentence of outlawry, elected Morcar, son of Earl Edgar, for their chief. The Confessor, on the news of this insurrection, ordered Harold with his powers to the north; but these had not proceeded further than Northampton, when they were met by Morcar with the men of the shire, and Edwin, the Earl of Chester and the Mercians, augmented by those of Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Lincolnshire.§ Harold himself had felt the effect of his brother's animosity, therefore listened readily to their complaints, and assuming the part of mediator, procured a sanction to their proceedings.

A. D.
1055.

A. D.
1065.

A.D.
1066.
Jan.

The accession of Harold to the English crown, ensured a speedy visit from the jealous Tosti, who being driven to his ships by Morcar and Edwin, after a fruitless mission to Scotland, was thrown by a storm on the coast of Norway. He found Harold Halfager

* Saxon Chron. p. 244; Hovedon, p. 443, &c.

† Drake, Hist. Ebor. allots but one year to the Earldom of Siward, but he appears to have borne that title even in the reign of Hardicanute, being present at the burning of Worcester, and subsequently was one of those noblemen who rescued the Confessor from the power of Earl Godwin. His last expedition was against the tyrant Macbeth, whom he slew, and placed Malcolm Kenmore on the throne of Scotland.—Hume. vol. I. pp. 118, 123.

‡ Drake, Hist. Ebor. c. Sim. Dunelm.

§ Saxon Chron., sub hoc anno., p. 253.

industriously fitting out an expedition to extend his conquests beyond the Orcades, but, by most specious arguments, easily prevailed on that aspiring prince to acquiesce in his sanguinary schemes. With the combined fleet they entered the Humber, sailed up the Ouse, and landed an immense army at Riccal, within ten miles of York itself. The brothers, Morcar and Edwin, in vain endeavoured to oppose them at Fulford,* and the city surrendered to the Norwegian host. Harold heard of the disaster, and hastened with his forces to the protection of his people. The great body of the enemy evacuated York on his approach, taking with them five hundred hostages, to ensure the subordination of the inhabitants to the few soldiers they left on the walls to retard the operations of the English. The battle of Stamford Bridge closed the mortal careers of the savage Tosti and his ambitious ally;—their armament was destroyed, and the generosity of the victor alone permitted twenty ships to carry back the survivors to their native shores. Harold celebrated his triumph in York with every demonstration of joy, but in the midst of his revelry, was summoned to meet the Norman in the field, where after a display of the most heroic valour, Harold fell, and England was resigned to the tyranny of the Conqueror.

A.D.
1066.

During the two first years after the conquest, the North gave William but little anxiety, and he contented himself with the constant presence of their two powerful leaders, Morcar and Edwin.† Oppressions and confiscations soon alarmed these lords for their own safety, and perceiving their only hope could be in successful opposition, fostered the general discontent, and having stipulated for succours from their nephew Blethwin, and from Scotland, took up arms at York. William marched against them with the utmost celerity, and reached the scene of action before the revolters were prepared for resistance. Submission was their only resource, and William, contrary to expectation, received their professions of future obedience, and even allowed the chiefs to retain their estates, but subjected the lower orders to heavy penalties.‡ The tyrant well knew the scarcity of fortified places had greatly accelerated his reduction of the country, and now determined to rivet the chains he had imposed, by establishing the security of his garrisons. For this purpose he erected a castle on each side the river at York,§ on the summit of high mounds, raised after the Norman manner,|| thus leaving an incontrovertible proof of the extent and consequence of the city, notwithstanding all its miseries and decay.¶ He placed five hundred soldiers in them, and returned to the south.

* Fulford, or Foulford, a village about one mile south east of York. This battle was fought on the eve of St. Matthew, A. D. 1066.

† Hume, vol. I., p. 174.

‡ Drake Hist. Ebor. Gives some account of a siege at this time, and that William obtained possession of York by means of two friars, who admitted him and his soldiers in the night. Sir Robt. Clifford had defended the city, and was now made governor by the king, who knighted four magistrates, Howngate, Talbott, Lassells, and Erringham at the same time. In memory of the event, the city shield was charged with five lions passant gardant or, bearing before only the St. George's Cross. Drake, however, puts little credence in the story.

§ "Rex autem Willielmus cum exercitu suo Snotingham venit ubi castello firmatio Eboracum perrexat, ibidemque duobus castellis firmatis quingentos milites in eis posuit, et in civitate Lincolnia aliisque locis castella firmari præcepit."—Sim. Dunelm. Henr. de Knyghton, col. 2344. "Hoc quoque anno Rex Willielmus firmavit castrum apud Snotingham et aliud apud Lincolniam et duo castra apud Eboracum."

|| Norman castles were built on high artificial mounds, and nearly covered the whole area of the summit. The castles built by the Saxons, were on high mounds, or ancient barrows, and had a great plain or area surrounding them.—*King's Munimenta Antiqua*.

¶ Hardyng, who wrote temp. Henry 5th, thus draws a comparison between London and other cities: "so many townes or cytes as York, Canterbury, and diverse othere in Englande, passed London for buyldyng in those dayes. But after the conqueste it increased and shortly after passed all othere."

"In Eboraco Civitate tempore Regis Edvvardi praetar Scyra archiepi fuer V.l. scyrae. Vna ex his. ē uasta in castellis,*" but on which side the river this ward was situated we are not informed. One castle, however, from its frequent mention, appears to have been of greater consequence than the other, and, doubtless, this must have been that to which Clifford's Tower was attached. Sir Henry Ellis, in his introduction to Domesday, has supposed the city to have been entirely surrounded by a foss, and the words "Hamelin ht. I. Mans. in fossato urb. Berenger de Toden. ht II. mans. Gamelcarle 7. Aluuini 7. VIII. mans ad hospitia. De his me dietas. ē in fossato urb.,"† would certainly imply so much, did not the steep ascent from the river preclude the possibility of supplying water, unless by artificial means: therefore, the possessions of those leaders can merely be looked upon as standing on the banks of the river Foss, which cuts through, rather than skirts the city. This stream, whether formed by the Romans, or a natural outlet to the boggy forest of Galtres, supplied the moat which entirely surrounded the Castle, and the branch which isolated Clifford's Tower from the rest.

The attention of the king was now called to the revolt of Exeter, but being fearful of a commotion in Northumberland, he first despatched Robert de Comyn with seven hundred men, to take possession of Durham, and then marched in person against the rebellious city. Having reduced his enemies to obedience in that quarter, he turned his steps to the North, where all now was anarchy and confusion. The more impatient of the conspirators, having knowledge by their spies, that Robert did not keep very diligent watch during the night, set upon him, and slew his whole company, excepting one man only, who contrived to escape with the tidings to the king.‡ This success animated the inhabitants of York, who rose on their governor Robert Fitz Richard, whom they killed, and then besieged the castle.§ The Danes, too, who had joined the confederacy, landed their forces under the command of Osberne, with Harold and Canute, the sons of King Sweyne, and had arrived within two days' journey, before the Normans were aware of their approach. William Malet, a Norman lord and the new governor, prepared to make a vigorous resistance, and to prevent his opponents making use of the materials to fill his ditches, set fire to the suburbs. The conflagration spread, and "by the hugeness of the wind that suddenly arose, the flame became so big, and mounted such a height that it caught the citie also, and consumed a great part thereof to ashes."|| At this critical juncture the Danes arrived, and taking advantage of the general consternation, divided their forces, and commenced a furious assault on both castles at the same time. They stormed the works under cover of the smoke, and falling on the garrison, put the whole of them to the sword. Of three thousand Normans, William Malet, his wife, and two children, with Sibright de Gaunt, the king's treasurer,|| and a few others, were the only survivors, and these were alone reserved for the hope of heavy ransoms. Edgar Atheling appeared from Scotland, bringing with him Cospatric, Waltheof, Seward, Bearne, Merleswain, Adelin, and other leaders, with the promise of speedy reinforcements. Osberne elected Waltheof to the command of the city, and having provided

A. D.
1066.
19, Sep.

* Domesday Book, tom. I., fol. 298.

+ Ibid.

† Hollinshed's Chron. vol. II. p. 6.

§ Ordericus Vitalis, p. 512.

|| Hollinshed—vol II. p. 7.

‡ "Sir William Malet was wardeyn of ye cuntres,

"Sibright de Gaunt was set with him to kepe ye ctes."

Peter Langtoft's Chron., translated by Robert of Brunne.

a strong garrison, marched towards the South to intercept the Norman forces, and entrenched themselves between the rivers Humber and Trent.* These proceedings roused King William, who swearing "by God's splendour" that he would leave none of them alive, rested only to complete his array, and then moved his host against the enemy. The terror caused by the insurrection, has been thus curiously chronicled by Peter Langtoft:—

**"Pe Normans in þe south wer in so grete affray,
Of Kastels & of towens þei com out alle day,
To York ran eke a Man, to rescet in þat town,
Þat no Danes man þe walles to breke down."**

The Conqueror, notwithstanding his rage, brought his policy first into the field, and laboured by every subtlety, to detach the Danes from his rebellious subjects, an object in which he unfortunately succeeded. The offer of a considerable subsidy, and leave to plunder the sea coasts until the spring, were temptations too strong for the honor of their leaders to resist, who accordingly broke up their camp, and retired; thus perfidiously deserting the cause in which they had embarked—perhaps their own. William, delivered from this dangerous foe, quickly demanded a surrender, and answered the defiance by a vigorous assault. His engines battered down the walls, yet the broad ditch, though dry, the huge mound, and the determined garrison, were obstacles insurmountable even to the bravest. Wherever he endeavoured to force his repulsed troops, there was Waltheof; and at length despairing of being able to storm the city, he calmly prepared to reduce it by famine. This proved the surer means, and although an attempt was made to relieve it by the Scotch, they were constrained to retreat, and after sustaining a siege for six months, York was starved to a capitulation. The victor scrupulously observed his faith to the several commanders, whose valour he pretended to admire, and again received them into his favour. He conferred on Waltheof the Earldoms of Northampton and Huntingdon,† and afterwards that of Northumberland, yet he sought the first opportunity to requite his opposition, and on some feigned conspiracy, deprived him of his honours and his head.‡—But these were subsequent events.

Edgar Atheling escaped to Scotland with his followers, and the city of York, thus helpless, was left to the will of the victor. His seeming clemency gradually vanished, and in one barbarous order, he consigned the whole of the country, between the Humber and the Tees, to desolation. The inhabitants of York were driven from their houses, their dwellings burned and demolished, and the whole city was nearly overwhelmed in his brutal vengeance. Their cattle were driven away, and their goods and provisions, piled on heaps, were committed to the flames. Some fled from the scene of horror, but others, reluctant to abandon their ancient habitations, lingered still about them, and by poverty and want fell victims to their patriotism. One hundred thousand human beings were thus sacrificed to a savage policy.§

* Hollinshed's Chron. vol. III. p. 7.

† Stukeley, *Palæographia Brit.* states, Robert Fitzooth, commonly known by the name of Robin Hood, to be descended from this Waltheof.

‡ Hoveden says he was the first nobleman beheaded in England.

§ Ordericus Vitalis, lib. IV. p. 514.—Hoveden, p. 258.—William of Malm. lib. III. p. 105.

Although all historians have spoken of York, as if it were now entirely erased from the face of the earth, the Domesday survey, which was taken subsequently to this period,* infers much to the contrary; it enumerates in the king's possession alone, three hundred and ninety-one inhabited houses, four hundred uninhabited, and five hundred and forty uninhabitable;—a very clear exemplification of the extent of the demolition. The Norman leaders held several, and that they were not new erections, is proved by the names of the original possessors. One house which formed the matter of some dispute is thus particularized, “sed p Hugone uice-comite (or sheriff) domu ipsius dicit se in castellu tulisse p'mo anno p destructionem castellos,”† which proves the circumstance of its being built after the castles were destroyed, to be a ground for distinction from the others, and shows how soon this venerable city again took root.

During the sovereignty of William the Second, no authorities relate anything of moment affecting our city, unless we except Hoveden, who alludes to a Castle built here by Rufus, when speaking of the massacre of the Jews in Richard's time: whence it may be assumed that York was again rising to its wonted military consequence, and probably the Bars at this time received the flat buttresses, evidently of Norman character, and certainly of different structure from the masonry of the arches, and that immediately over them.

A.D. 1137. The reign of Henry I. is almost equally barren;‡ but in Stephen's, a lamentable accident showed that the patrons of York had neither been few nor idle. A fire broke out, which in a short time destroyed the Cathedral, thirty-nine Churches in the City, St. Mary's Abbey, St. Leonard's Hospital and Trinity Church, in the suburbs. In the following year, David, King of Scotland, invaded the North of England with a large army, penetrated into Yorkshire, laying it waste with fire and sword, and then invested the city. Thurstan, archbishop of York, by the assistance of the powerful barons, William Earl of Albermarle, Robert de Ferrers, William de Percy, Robert de Brus, Roger de Mowbray, Ilbert de Lacy and Walter l'Espec, raised a force, and compelled him to retreat to Northallerton, where the battle of the Standard, in the year 1138, sent the Scots scampering to their homes, leaving ten thousand dead on the field.§

A.D. 1160. Henry II. held the first assembly ever dignified with the title of Parliament in this city, before which, Malcolm, King of Scotland, appeared, to answer certain charges preferred against him, relative to the wars in France, which he refuted, but was compelled to do homage for his kingdom before his departure. His successor was summoned to similar fealty by the English Monarch, whereupon he brought all his barons, prelates and abbots to the Cathedral at York, where he deposited his coat of mail, spear, and saddle, on the high altar, as a pledge of submission.|| In the thirty-fourth year of this reign, a disme, or tenth, was A.D. 1171. levied on one hundred of the most opulent citizens, to aid the expedition to the Holy Land.¶ A.D. 1188.

The commencement of the first Richard's brilliant career, produced a tragedy, unequalled for horror by any in the annals of this country. The prohibition issued at the coronation

* The Survey was completed Anno Millesimo Octogesimo Sexto, ab incarnatione Dni.—*Domesday Book*, vol. II. fol. 450.

† *Domesday Survey*, fol. 298.

‡ York in this reign was called *Everwic*.—*Madox, Firma Burgi*, p. 153.

§ Hume, vol. I. p. 254.

|| *Dunstap, Chron. &c.* p. 36.—*Hoveden*, 545.—*Matt. West.* p. 251.

¶ *Madox, Hist. Excheq.*

against the appearance of the Jews, during that ceremony, having failed in its effects, several perished for their temerity, by the fury of the licentious populace, and amongst them, one Benedict, who with Jocenus, had journeyed from York to present gifts on the occasion. Jocenus escaped to his home, fearful of the zeal which now spread to other cities, and showed itself in endless cruelties committed on his race. By design, or accident, a fire broke out in York during a boisterous night, the conflagration rapidly increased, and the whole city was thrown into a tumult. A body of ruffians, taking advantage of the confusion, attacked the house of the deceased Benedict, murdered his wife, children, and servants, and loading themselves with plunder, burnt the house to the ground. Jocenus, anticipating similar treatment, obtained leave of the governor to place his family and treasures "*within a towere of the king's*,"* and his example was speedily followed by most of the rich Israelites in York. The house of Jocenus shared the same fate as that of his unfortunate companion; while those, who had incautiously neglected the permission granted, fell victims to their indiscretion. The governor, having business in the city, left the fortress in the custody of the Jews; who, suspecting some treachery, closed the gates against him on his return. In great necessity he applied to Randal de Glanville, high sheriff of the county, who, incensed at the insult, instantly issued the writ Posse Comitatus to raise a power to reduce the tower by force. This step accorded well with the savage inclinations of the multitude; and the authorities, when too late, bitterly and fruitlessly repented of the inconsiderate issue of the mandate. An innumerable company of armed men immediately begirt the fortress, and attacked it with the utmost fury, led on by priests, who exclaimed continually, "that the enemies of Christ must be destroyed." Amongst the foremost of the beleaguers, was a canon hermit, of the Praemonstratensian order,† robed in a white vesture, who for several days greatly encouraged the assailants, but being at length too strenuous in his endeavours to aid the fixing of the battering engines against the walls, a well directed stone laid the brawler prostrate.

The Jews now held a council, when a foreign Rabbin stood up, and exhorted them, by a voluntary sacrifice of their lives, to escape the revenge of their merciless enemies. To his proposal the greater part consented, and heaping their riches together, set fire to them. Exasperated against those who would assay the clemency of the Christians, they endeavoured to commit them also to the flames, in which they would have succeeded, "*if they had not taken a strong turret hard by within that towre, and defended it themselves, both from the fire, and crueltie of their brethren.*"‡ The self-devoted wretches now began the work of immolation, by Jocenus first cutting the throats of his wife Anna, and those

* Hollinshed's Chron. vol. III. p. 121.

† Drake, Hist. Ebor.

‡ Hollinshed's Chron. vol. III. p. 122.—The situation of this tower is veiled in such mystery, that no attempt has ever been made to ascertain it, and Clifford's, for want of another of sufficient magnitude, has been tacitly selected. Hollinshed's expression, "*a towere of the Kings*," would warrant a supposition that it stood alone, and the words "*strong turret hard by within that towre*," that turrets were attached to it;—such a description answers well to Clifford's; but as that fortress was always occupied by the Sheriff, at that time resident, and rendered exceedingly strong by the deep moat and drawbridge, neither of which are mentioned, it inclines us to fix on some other site. Two castles were built at the same time by the Conqueror, and on similar mounds, and from ocular evidence remaining, were probably of a uniform character. Hoveden, in noting the order for its restoration, uses the words "*veteri castellaria*," which would infer a reference to that hill still known by the name of Vetus Ballium, or Old Baile. That fortress might have been easily surrounded, and approached with engines, since its ditch, if it had any, could never have been filled with water. The order was given for the restoration, but no account of its re-edification is on record, whence, perhaps, we may date the disappearance of a fort from this place.

A.D.
1190.
March.

of his five children, an example instantly followed by the remainder, and the scene closed by the Rabbin, as a mark of honour, operating on Jocenus, and then destroying himself. On the morrow, the survivors appealed to their persecutors, and throwing the bodies of their companions over the walls to prove the distress to which they had been reduced, offered to renounce Judaism if their lives were spared. Pretending to compassionate their sufferings, the terms were accepted; but no sooner had the barbarians gained admission, than every Jew was slaughtered. Thus fifteen hundred human beings miserably perished, and their murderers, not content with the enormities they had already perpetrated, hastened to the Cathedral, where they consumed the bonds which bound them to the Jewish usurers. Then, says Hollinshed, "*ech went his waie, the souldiers to the king, and the commons to their houses, and so was the citie quieted.*"*

Richard had embarked for the Holy Land, before information of these enormities reached him; but he instantly dispatched orders to William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, his chancellor and regent, to proceed into Yorkshire, and take full vengeance on the offenders. That haughty prelate committed the high sheriff, Glanville, and the governor, to prison, and laid a heavy fine on the city; he dismissed all the soldiers that had been concerned in the massacre, and taking one hundred hostages, confined them at Northampton for four years, when they were ransomed for ten marks by the citizens.† He gave orders for the repair of the castle;‡ and gave the government of the county to his brother Osbert de Longchamp. In the sixth year of Richard's reign, one Richard Malebisse, being implicated in the transaction, paid three hundred marks for his pardon; and subsequently, an additional twenty marks to have his lands restored him.§

York and Yorkshire paid twenty shillings for each knight's fee towards the ransom of Richard; who, on his return, dispossessed Hugh Bardolf of the Sherifalty, and of the Castle, while holding his court at Nottingham.||

From a record in the Pipe office, it appears, that in the eighth year of the reign of Richard I. Benedict Fitz-Engelram gave half a mark, for licence to build a certain house upon Micklegate Bar, and paid sixpence annual rent for having it hereditary. This, possibly, fixes the first idea of a superstructure to these defences; which, before this period, might be what Fishergate now is, a mere gate.

A.D.
1199.

King John held a conference in this city with William King of Scotland, when their differences were reconciled, and a marriage contracted between the princes Richard and Henry, to Margaret and Isabel, daughters of the Scottish Monarch, who at the same time delivered up his claims on the counties of Huntingdon, Northumberland, and Cumberland. King John spent Christmas here, A.D. 1211, with his officers and barons of the realm.¶

In the last year of this reign, York was besieged by the northern barons, Robert de Roos, Peter de Brus, and Richard Percy, who had espoused the cause of Louis, the son of the French monarch, but were bought off by the inhabitants for one thousand marks, until the

* Hollinshed's Chron., vol. III. p. 122.

† Hargrove's Hist. York, vol. I.

‡ "et praecepit firmare castellum in veteri castellaria quod rex Willielmus Rufus ibi construxerat."—*Hoveden's Annales*, ed. Lond. 1596.

§ Madox's Hist. Excheq. p. 300.

|| Ibid, pp. 16, 411.

¶ Matt. Paris, ad ann illum.

octaves of Pentecost, when they were relieved from a return of their enemies by the death of the king.* A.D. 1216.

Henry III. that he might the better cope with his barons, desired a strict alliance with Scotland, and for that purpose a convention took place at York, where Alexander married Joan, king Henry's sister. The kings celebrated Christmas here with much rejoicing in the year 1230, and dined three days in public with the principal nobility of both kingdoms. Henry and his Queen again visited York in 1251, when their daughter Margaret was united to Alexander III. King of Scotland. Both monarchs were attended by an immense number of military commanders, knights clad in magnificent armour, and by the most splendid retinue of retainers. An affray occurred between the domestics of the different nobles, which led to some bloodshed, but was at length quelled by the king's servants. A.D. 1220.

During one of these sojournments, Henry granted a patent for a certain tollage, in specie, on all goods coming to be sold at York, to be applied to the reparation of the walls, and other fortifications of the city†—an edict which clearly points to their dilapidated state, and to which order we may attribute the restoration of Clifford's Tower, which exhibits much of the style adopted at this period. A.D. 1266, Simon de Warwic, the abbot of St. Mary's, obtained permission of the king to enclose the abbey with walls, to protect the monks from the fury of the citizens, and the abbey now formed, with its ditch, a considerable outwork to the defences of the city, and with the sacred edifices which stood within, has greatly conduced to the preservation of one of the most curious, and ancient, specimens of military architecture, that of the Multangular Tower.

King Edward I. rested some time at York on his expedition into Scotland, and brought with him the famous Welchman, Rice ap Meredith, who was here tried and executed. In the year 1298, the king summoned all his barons, to appear in Parliament, to be held in this city, when none arriving from Scotland, Edward resolved on war against that country, and the army was ordered to rendezvous at York, previously to its being placed under the command of the Earl of Surrey. On the king's return from Flanders, another parliament was held here, when a commission of array was issued, commanding his subjects to assemble before Roxburgh, and having in the year 1306, completed the conquest of Scotland, he rested at York, and then removed his court, and the courts of justice, which had now been kept there for seven years. A.D. 1291.

Tournaments were become so frequent amongst the gentry in Yorkshire, during this king's reign, that several writs were sent forth in the 27th, 28th, and 30th of Edward I. forbidding them to tournay, bordise, or make jousts, on pain of forfeiture of life and possessions.‡ A.D. 1299.

Edward II. fearful of violence from the great barons, incensed by the recall of his favorite Piers Gaveston, who had lately joined him in this city, caused the walls of York to be placed in a complete posture of defence. Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, approached with a strong body of men, intending to seize the person of his obnoxious rival, but found the prey he sought had already removed with his royal patron to Newcastle.§ Thither followed the Earl, and, with his associates, speedily wrought the fall and death of their hated enemy. Robert de Clifford, who, a few months before this event, had been made Lord of Skipton A.D. 1311.

* Hollinshed's Chron. p. 193; and Stowe's Annals.

† Madox, *Baronia Anglica*.

‡ Drake, *Hist. Ebor.*

§ Walsingham, p. 101.

Castle, was now elected warden of the northern counties.* To him Clifford's Tower is probably indebted for the additional security it acquired by the erection of the square tower against the original gate, which itself cannot claim an existence prior to the time of Henry III. and from this nobleman the whole fortress derived its name. Its architecture cannot be referred to a later era. To prosecute these repairs, Edward issued a mandamus to the Dean and Chapter, commanding them not to hinder the gathering the tolls, which Henry III. had granted for that purpose, and which they had presumed to do.

After the disastrous battle of Bannockburn, the king fled precipitately to York, where he convened a council of nobles, to concert measures to avenge himself on the victorious Bruce; but his usual imbecility frustrated any decisive result.

On learning the Scotch expedition into Ireland, King Edward proceeded to York, and endeavoured to raise an army, but found the country so thinly inhabited, that he was obliged to recruit, both in the south and west, to complete his forces. No sooner had he marched to besiege Berwick, than Thomas Randolph, Earl of Murray, entered England by another route, wasted all with fire and sword, and some of his troops advancing to York, set fire to the suburbs. William de Melton, the archbishop, and the lord chancellor, the bishop of Ely, on this, hastily got together a confused mass of ecclesiastics, mechanics, and husbandmen, and with them, closely pursued their antagonists to Myton upon Swale, where they were unfortunately faced, and put to a perfect rout. Nicholas Fleming, then mayor of York, fell in the conflict, whilst bravely leading his citizens to the charge. Edward on hearing of this overthrow retired again to York.

A.D.
1322.

Sir Simon Ward and Sir Andrew de Harclay, the governors of York and Carlisle, at the battle of Boroughbridge, having obtained possession of the Earl of Lancaster, and several other of the king's most inveterate enemies, brought them to York, where they were tried by judges before the king, and John Lord Mowbray, Sir Joceline D'Eivill, and Roger de Clifford, son of the Lord of Skipton Castle,† were hanged and quartered. The Earl of Lancaster suffered before his own fortress at Pontefract.‡ Sir Andrew de Harclay, for this service, was created Earl of Carlisle, but, being shortly after convicted of intriguing with the Scotch, was executed, and one of his quarters placed on the bridge at York.

This unfortunate prince called yet another parliament in our city,§ which granted him so liberal a subsidy, that he was enabled to raise an immense force for the reduction of the north; but the Scotch having destroyed all forage as their invaders advanced, the English were at last obliged to retire. They made good their retreat as far as Byland Abbey, in the parish of Coxwold, seven miles from Helmsley Castle; when Robert Bruce surprised the royal party at dinner, put the whole assemblage to flight, and King Edward escaped to York only by the fleetness of his horse.

A.D.
1326.

A dispute arose about this time between the citizens and the Archbishop of York, William de Melton, relative to the reconstruction of the tower on the Old Baile, which ended in an appeal

* Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I. p. 339.—Camden, vol. II. p. 856.

† Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I. p. 339.

‡ Leland's Collec. vol. I. p. 668.

§ Parliaments were held in York in the 3rd and 8th, two in the 12th, 13th and 15th of Edward II.—*Drake, Hist. Ebor. App.*

to the queen Isabel, then resident in the archiepiscopal palace in this city. Nicholas Langton, the mayor, alledged that this district was within the jurisdiction of the archbishop, and although the prelate urged that it stood "*infra fossatas civitatis*," and therefore the province of those who repaired the rest, the cause was given against him. His slight works were evidence of the reluctance with which he obeyed the mandate, and his erecting the fort, first with planks eighteen feet long, and then surrounding them with a stone wall, are the last notices of any thing military existing on this spot.*

The first year of the dominion of Edward III. was rendered memorable by a singular invasion of the northern counties by a large army of Scotch horse. These marauders amounted to twenty thousand men, headed by Thomas Randolph and James Douglas, who penetrated to Stanhope Park, in Wiredale, making immense seizures, upon which the young monarch ordered the army to rendezvous at York, and prepared to make reprisals on his enemy. Before Edward's arrival, some of the Scots partisans stuck over the door of St. Peter's Church, the following lines;—

A.D.
1327.

**"Long beards hartlesse, painted hoods wittlesse,
"Gaie cotes gracelesse, make England thriflesse,"†**

in derision of English bravery, with which, however, they shortly became acquainted. Sixty thousand men assembled in York, and its immediate neighbourhood, where they were joined by John, the Lord Beaumont of Hainault, with his attendant knights and retinue, to the number of five hundred. Other foreigners increased the corps to two thousand fighting men, to whom the best of the suburbs was allotted; whilst Lord John himself, with his immediate attendants, lodged in an abbey of white monks in the city.‡ Edward and his mother kept separate courts in the stately monastery belonging to the Friars Minors, where they entertained their nobles and foreign allies with every species of magnificence. During one of these festivals given by the monarch on Trinity Sunday, with unusual splendour, an affray broke out between the strangers and the English archers, who lodged in the same neighbourhood, and who had been disgusted with the insolent bearing of the foreign auxiliaries. The number of combatants, continually augmented by the arrival of their friends, amounted at length to more than three thousand; when the bowmen, proving too strong for their opponents, forced them to retire, and barricado themselves within their houses. Many of the Hainaulters were slain; and the archers were preparing to pursue their advantage, when the timely interference of the king restored a short tranquillity. Headed by their captains, the Hainault forces rose up in the following night, and fell suddenly and furiously on the unexpected English, of whom three hundred perished in this treacherous attack. The Northamptonshire archers were the principal sufferers, with the Lincolnshire men, of whom eighty were "sleyne and buried under a stone in S. Clement's Chirch trov. in Fossigate."§ Six thousand of the English combined to wipe out this affront, by the complete immolation of the foreigners, who alone escaped this terrible vengeance by the wise precautions and firmness of the king.

* Camden, vol. II. p. 876.

† Hollinshed's Chron. vol. III. p. 347.

‡ Froissart, vol. I. p. 14,—"*et leur fit on liurer les plus beaux fauxbourgs de la cité pour les heberger: et fut deliuree à Messire Jehan de Haynaut une Abbaie de Blancs Moines, pour son corps et pour son tinel tenir.*"

§ Leland's Collec. vol. I. p. 307.

The Scotch ambassadors being dismissed, Edward, after a sojourn in York for nearly seven weeks, marched out with his whole army, in all the pomp and glory of that chivalric period. Soon after his departure, a mandate was forwarded to the citizens, to repair their Fortifications, part of which is thus transmitted in Rymer's *Foedera*:—

“ The King to his wellbeloved the Mayor and Bailiffs of his City of York, greeting: ”

The preamble sets forth the motives for the war, remarking the necessity of providing for the safety of his mother the queen Isabella, his brother prince John of Eltham, and his sisters the princesses Joan and Eleanor, all of whom he left in this city, and then thus proceeds; “ We strictly command and charge you, upon your faith and allegiance, and of the forfeiture of everything you can forfeit to us, immediately on sight of these presents, without excuse or delay, to inspect and overlook your Walls, Ditches, and Towers, and the ammunition* proper for the defence of the City; taking with you such of our faithful servants as will be chosen for this purpose, and to take such orders for its defence, that no dangers can happen to the City by neglect of such safeguards.”

“ And we by these presents, give you full power and authority to distrain and compel all and singular holders of houses or rents in the said City; or merchants or strangers inhabiting the same, by the seizure of their bodies or goods, to be aiding towards the security of the Walls, Bulwarks, or Towers, as you in your discretion shall think fit to ordain, and for making other useful and necessary works about it. Punishing all those that are found to contradict or rebel against this order, by imprisonment, or what other method you think fit. Dated at Durham, July 15th, 1327.

“ By the King.”

After the Scots had been cooped up in Stanhope Park for fifteen days, and had then, by the treachery of Lord Mortimer, been enabled to escape, Edward returned to York, and thence to London.

A.D. 1328. The singular preliminaries to the marriage of King Edward III, with Phillipa, the daughter of the Earl of Hainault and Holland, are well known. Barnes, the historian of this monarch's reign, places their first meeting at York,† where the nuptials were celebrated, followed by triumphs, tournaments, masques, revellings, and rejoicings of every kind, during the space of three weeks.‡ The company of Hainaulters who attended the young queen, presuming on their influence at court, again gave full vent to their haughtiness. In one of their riots they set fire to several houses, which quickly communicating to those around, soon reduced nearly the whole of one parish to ashes. The enraged citizens now challenged them to a mortal combat, which the foreigners failed not to accept; and accordingly, a selected body of each met

* What kind of ammunition is here meant is questionable. Probably not for artillery, although John Bardour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, states cannon to have been in use among the English in the time of this king.—A.D. 1337.

† Barne's *Life of Edward III.* ch. ii. p. 27.

‡ Froissart, whom Barne's quotes on this occasion, makes no mention of York, nor indeed of the marriage in England. His passage, vol. I. p. 24, runs thus; “ Puis monta en mer ladite Damoselle Phillippe de Haynaut à Voissant, et arriva à tout sa compagnie, à Douvres; et la conduit jusques à Londres Messire Jehan de Haynaut, son oncle. Si y eut adoncques à Londres grand feste et noblesse de seigneurs d'Angleterre: et fut la Roïne couronnée; et furent faites joustes et tournois, dances et caroles, et grans et beaux mangiers, chacun jour: et durerent ces festes l'espace de trois semaines. Au chef d'aucuns jours Messire Jehan de Haynaut print congé.” He makes no mention of the second marriage, but states the ceremony to have taken place, “ par la vertu d'une procuration,” before the princess sailed for England.

before sunrise one Tuesday in September, in a street called Watelingate, each party armed at all points, and there adjusted the quarrel by an appeal to physical power. Two hundred and forty-two men of York fell in the fight, but of the Hainaulters, besides five hundred and twenty-seven who were slain, one hundred and thirty six were found drowned in the river Ouse, and several died of their wounds within a few days after the encounter.*

In 1332, Edward held a parliament in York, and the following year kept Christmas with the court in this city. The next February, the Lords Montacute and Beaumont, did homage to the king before the parliament, as representatives of John Baliol, for the kingdom of Scotland.

While Edward was prosecuting the wars in France, David Bruce, Baliol's competitor, undertook the invasion of England, then left to the sole government of the queen. The Scots wasted the country with fire and sword, and some of the army approaching York, destroyed great part of its confines. Queen Philippa, at this time resident in the city, raised what forces she could, and pursuing the enemy in person, overtook them at Nevile's cross, near Durham. Victory crowned the royal heroine, who immediately returned to York, and there received Bruce from the hands of John Coupland, who had taken him prisoner in the battle. This glorious queen now turned her whole attention to the fortifications of the city, and having completed the works, departed for London, leaving the northern counties in the custody of the Lords Percy and Nevile.

The peculiar style of the architecture, the sculptured arms, and the ascertained fact of great repairs being made at this time, fix a date to the upper part of Micklegate Bar with certainty, and that the building which had first been erected as a habitation, was now converted into a substantial means of defence. The walls of the city too may be supposed to have undergone complete resuscitation in this reign.

King Richard II. resided some time in York, and afterwards joined the expedition against Scotland. He visited the city again within four years, to reconcile a disagreement which had arisen between the archbishop, dean, and chapter, and the mayor and commonalty of the city. The king upon this occasion dignified the chief magistrate with the title of Lord, and gave his sword to William de Selby, then mayor, to be borne before him and his successors in that office. At a subsequent period, he presented a mace, and a cap of maintenance for a similar purpose, conferring at the same time many and great immunities by charters on the citizens. In the nineteenth year of this king's reign, he elected the city into a county of itself by an act, part of which is to the following effect:—

A.D.
1386.

“ Ordained, that every thing appertaining to the city, precincts, and every thing contained therein, and every of them, except our castle of York, its Towers and Ditches pertaining to the said Castle of York, to be of the County of the said City of York, as well by land as by water.”

* Leland thus gives the account in his Collectanea. A.D. 1328.—*Hunaldi apud Eboracum combusserunt de suburbio civitatis fere unam parochiam, quae vocatur S. Nicolai in Ousegate, propter contumeliam motam inter Burgenses et illos, quia ceperunt uxores Burgensium, ei filias, et ancillas per vim in suburbio civitatis. Burgenses vero suburbii indignati de tali facinore congressi sunt cum Hunaldis more bellico: et ex utraque parte bene armati una die Martis in Septembri ante folis ortum in Watelingate, dormiente tota civitate summo mane. Ibi ceciderunt de Hunaldis 527, praeter eos qui laetaliter vulnerati sunt et obierunt in 3 die, et in 4, sequenti. De Anglis ceciderunt 242; submersi in Owse flu: de Hunaldis inventi sunt 136.*—Leland notes the marriage, and alone records the fight; Barnes, in his Life of Edward III. mentions the marriage; and Foissart gives neither. Drake and Hargrove have enrolled the fact in their histories, therefore we cannot omit to notice it here, when transmitted by so careful an antiquary as Leland.

Shortly after the accession of Henry of Bolingbroke, Earl of Lancaster, to the English throne, by the title of Henry IV. a conspiracy was raised against him by some of the very nobles, whose power had been conducive to his exaltation. Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, and Thomas Mowbray, the Earl Marshall, plotted the downfall of their king, and were joined in their confederacy by the Lords Falconberg, Bardolf, and Hastings, Sir John Colville, and others. The precipitation of the Archbishop of York, however, ruined their schemes, and that dignitary having published several impeachments against the king, and preached sermons to excite the inhabitants of the city, roused twenty thousand men to arms, and with the Earl Marshall, encamped them at Skipton, within a few miles of York. Here they became the dupes of the Earl of Westmorland, whom Henry had sent against them, and by the advice of that nobleman having dismissed their army, were treacherously seized, and immediately conveyed to the presence of the king at Bishopthorp. They were condemned without indictment, or any form of trial, and both suffered by the hand of the executioner; the head of the Earl Marshall being placed on the bridge at York, where it remained for a considerable time; and when at last permitted to be taken down, according to Walsingham's testimony,* was neither wasted, nor scarcely even discoloured. The citizens of York suffered severely for the assistance afforded to the primate; two captains were sent from Pontefract to take possession of all the city charters, depriving them of all their privileges, until the decree was revoked by the monarch at Ripon.

A.D.
1405.

Sir Thomas Rokesby, sheriff of the county, soon after defeated and killed the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolf, on Bramham Moor; when King Henry again visited York, and recommenced a series of executions, fines, and confiscations, which policy alone had led him to suspend.†

A.D.
1408.

His son and successor, King Henry V. when about to embark from Southampton on his enterprise against France, discovered such symptoms of rebellion, that he was compelled to take summary vengeance on the conspirators, and instantly despatched a mandate to the Lord Mayor of York, commanding him to secure the estates and effects of Thomas, the Lord Scrope of Masham, whose head accompanied the order, and was placed, by the king's direction, on the summit of "Mickellyth Bar."

The king made a progress to this city with his queen, in the ninth year of his reign.

The civil wars, which soon raged so violently between the houses of York and Lancaster, subjected our ancient city to all the vicissitudes concomitant with the alternate dominion of successful ambition.

When Richard, Duke of York, had so far acquired the ascendancy over king Henry VI. as to be acknowledged next heir to the crown, and had the administration entrusted to his care, Margaret his queen, indignant at the exclusion of her son, prepared to vindicate the cause of her party. Margaret of Anjou visited the north, and, by her spirit and address easily raised twenty thousand men who were devoted to her service. The Duke of York, ignorant of the extent of her measures, hastened with five thousand men to arrest her progress; and, only when too late, discovered his fatal error. The battle on Wakefield Green, on the 31st December, terminated his existence, and his body being found, Margaret bid her followers,

A.D.
1460.

"Off with his head, and set it on York gates;

"So York may overlook the town of York."*

* Walsingham, p. 373.—Otterbourne, p. 255. † Walsingham, p. 374. ‡ Shakespeare, Hen. IV. act 1, scene 4.

The head of the duke was accordingly placed on the top of Micklegate Bar, with the face towards the city, and crowned with a paper diadem, in mockery of his pretensions. Richard, Earl of Salisbury, was decapitated at Pontefract,* and his head, with those of Sir Richard Limbricke, Ralph Stanley, John Harow, and Captain Hanson, and of several others, were sent to York for similar exposure.

Notwithstanding the queen's subsequent success at St. Albans, the advance of Edward, son of the late Duke of York, compelled her to retire with her imbecile husband from the neighbourhood of London into Yorkshire, where she found herself soon at the head of sixty thousand fighting men. Edward hurried with a strong body of forty-nine thousand men, led by himself and the famous Earl of Warwick, to renew the struggle for supremacy, and after several severe skirmishes for the pass at Ferrybridge, the tremendous battle of Towton Field, on the 29th of March, annihilated the hopes of the Lancastrians. Henry and Margaret evacuated the city of York on receiving the dismal intelligence; and the victorious Edward, entering without opposition, took down the heads of his father, and of the Earl of Salisbury, and having executed Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, the Earl of Kyme, Sir William Hill, and Sir Thomas Foulford, elevated their heads on the same bar.†

A.D.
1461.
March.

Edward IV. passed through York on his way to engage the Scotch, French, and Northumbrians, who had united in the support of Henry's claim, but their confederacy perished at Hexham. Edward there confirmed his sovereignty, and finding in the baggage that fell to the victor, the royal cap, called Abacot, he was crowned in it with great solemnity in this city. Lord George and Sir Humphrey Nevile, who were taken in this fight, were beheaded with twenty-five others at York.

A.D.
1464.

Gent, in his History of York, records the execution of a gentleman of Holderness, named Hob, who was arrested for some offence against the government, probably for rebellion, and suffered in the Pavement, was there quartered, and his head and banner set over Walmgate Bar.‡

A.D.
1469.

The sudden fall of king Edward, and the short repossession of regal dignity by Henry VI. were productive of such innumerable and complicated events, that the cause or first movement in the sudden revolution has been referred to different actions by authors on the subject. One of the most influential, however, was a commotion which broke out in the north, on the circulation of a report of the maladministration of certain property, belonging to St. Leonard's Hospital, in York. By a grant of king Athelstan, this institution had acquired the right of levying a thrave of corn upon every plough land in the county, and officers had been appointed to gather the accustomed tribute, but these now were met by a decided refusal, and some of them were even killed. Fifteen thousand men arose to redress the grievance, and choosing Robert Holdern for their leader, marched towards York.§ The citizens were thrown into some dismay on the news reaching them, but, whilst considering whether they should endeavour to defend the city, or sally to encounter the rabble in the field, the Marquis Montacute, the Earl of Warwick's brother, selected a few choice troops, attacked the insurgents in the night, and took their leader, whom he decapitated before one of the city gates. This body of men, although defeated, were not dispersed, and soon acquiring other more distinguished

* Polydore Virg. p. 510.

† Gent's Hist. York, p. 190.

‡ Hollinshed's Chron. p. 665, &c.

§ Hume, vol. iii. p. 164.

commanders, whose views took a higher flight, they marched into the south, and contributed their aid to Warwick, in the temporary deposition of Edward the Fourth.*

A.D.
1471.

The Duke of Burgundy, after due deliberation, having espoused the cause of the Yorkists, provided Edward with a few vessels, from which he landed with a small number of partisans at Ravenspurne, in this county. He artfully prevented opposition by giving out that he came, merely, to claim his patrimonial estate; but Warwick, suspecting the real motive, sent orders to his brother, who lay at Pontefract, with a large army, to attack him instantly. This, the Marquis Montacute failed to do; and the artful Duke of York advanced at pleasure. When near the city, he was met by two aldermen, who informed him, that to attempt to enter York would be useless, as they had received express injunctions to withstand him; however, he softened their determination, by his evasive declarations, and the delegates returned to consult with their colleagues. Edward gave them no time for reflection, but following close on their steps, was hailed by the citizens with every demonstration of joy, and having sworn at the gate to protect the liberties of the city, and to be obedient to Henry's commands, he entered.

He now threw off the mask, assumed the title of king, appointed a strong garrison, and having effected a considerable loan departed for the south, where the concluding part of the tragedy was enacted.

A.D.
1478.

King Edward's last visit to the city of York was one of pleasure; and having witnessed the loyalty of his subjects in the north bestowed on them a considerable donation, and took his leave.

Richard Duke of Gloucester was resident in the city at the time of this king's decease, and before setting out to undertake the guardianship of the young princes, or rather to usurp the throne of the fifth Edward, he commanded a solemn requiem to be performed in the Cathedral for the repose of his brother's soul.

A.D.
1483.
Sept.

Richard III. although crowned in London, where a body of four thousand Yorkshiresmen had attended him, made a progress through many of the provincial towns to York, where the ceremony was performed a second time, by Archbishop Rotheram, in the Chapter House attached to the Cathedral. The king carefully cultivated the good feelings of the inhabitants, and made several grants to the city, one of which recites, that "our said sovereign lord only of his habundant grace, moste graciously and habundantly granted, and gave in relief of the said cite in esing of the tolls, murage, bucher-pennys, and skait gild of the said cite yerely xxiiil. xis. iid. for evyr; that is to say, for the murage xxi. and the residue to the Sheriffs; so that from thenceforward it shold be lefull to every person coming to the said cite with their guds and cattell, and them freely to sell in the same, without any thing gratifying or paying for toll or murage of any of the said guds, &c.†" Richard thus rescinded the enactment made by Henry III. for sustaining the repairs of the Fortifications, but conferred a more immediate benefit upon the citizens, by commencing that work at his own expense. He took down the old castle, and commenced a new one, but never completed his intention.‡ Much difficulty exists in ascertaining the precise time when the upper part of Monk Bar was added

* Nearly every historian has recorded a short imprisonment which King Edward endured in Middleham Castle, under the Archbishop of York, from whom he escaped into Burgundy; but this Hume very satisfactorily disproves by his annotations from Rymer. Hume, vol. iii. p. 165.

† Extracted from Allen's Hist. Yorkshire, vol. i. p. 100.

‡ Halfpenny's Fragmenta Vetusta, p. 9; and Sir W. Todd's Letter to Henry VII.

to the Gate, but as it still bears the arms used after the accession of Henry V., it may be attributed to the munificence of Richard III., unless the result of the murage toll, first granted by Henry III., which seems very feasible since no entry of any order, or expence incurred, appears upon the City Records. The Bar exhibits a much later style than Micklegate Bar, where Fitz-Engelram's tenement gave place to a more substantial erection during the wars of Edward III., and thus gave a new architectural character to the military entrances successively copied at Monk Bar, Walmgate, and, lastly, at Bootham Bar;—but what the two latter buildings may have been originally, the long siege in the year 1644, has rendered it impossible to determine, excepting that Walmgate Bar retains the old sculptured shield, charged with three fleurs-de-lis only, as the arms of France in the first quarter of the royal escutcheon, which is enclosed within a modern panel. The Barbicans, once attached to the several Bars, were decidedly the work of a later era, and the undoubted consequence of the total revolution in the art of war.

When troubles began to close around Richard III., he looked to his old friends for assistance, and they immediately sent John Spon, serjeant at mace, to Nottingham, to learn his majesty's will. Four hundred men were selected by the city council, who agreed to pay them at the rate of one shilling per day, for ten days, and then despatched them to the service of their royal master. The battle of Bosworth rendered their aid unnecessary, and they returned to York, after an absence of four days and a half, when they were disbanded on receiving six shillings per man; the residue of the grant being paid into the hands of the Chamberlain.†

A.D.
1485.

The alarm created by the Earl of Richmond's successful invasion, was nowhere more unequivocally developed, than in the ancient city of York, which, as it had ever strongly supported the interests of the fallen monarch, now dreaded the vengeance of the victor. Precaution was added to their propitiatory measures, and the commonalty, with Nicholas Lancaster, Lord Mayor, at their head, were hastily "assembled in the counsail chambre, wher and when it was determined, that the gates and posturnes of the citie shuld be shut evere night at ix. of the clock, and opened at morowning at iiij. and iiij. men of evere warde be warned to watch at evere gate evere night for the safegard of the citie, and the inhabitants of the same. 31st August, 1485."‡

The partisans of Lambert Symnel, the counterfeit Plantagenet, after the promulgation of their object in Ireland, addressed themselves to the municipality of our city, commanding them to provide every accommodation necessary for the reception of a prince of the blood royal of England. The authorities, however, adopted a wiser course, and resolving to adhere to their new king Henry VII., in the following letter, instantly advertised him of their danger, and of their inability to withstand any vigorous assault.

"To moost highe and mighty xten prince and or moost redoubted souvain liege lord the Kinge.

"Moste high and mighty cristen pnce, and oure moost redoubted souvain liege lord, We in oure moost humble wise recomend us unto youre moost royall magestye beseeching almighty God to send your grace good and pspous life w^t thabboundaunce of fortunes pleas it the same to be attayned. We er and evmore shalbe your true and feithfull subjectts redye

* City Records.

+ Ibid.

tobbeye w^t o^r bodis and gods any yo^r high commaundemets aswell for the safegard of youre moost royall p^{er}sone as this youre Realme, and in espi^all in sure p^{er}ssvyng of yis youre citie unto youre grace singulerly agenst all oth^{er} entending the contrary. Albeit souvain lord youre said citie is soo gretely decayed aswell by falling downe of the walls of the same and by taking downe of youre castell there by King Richard and as yet not re-edified as oth^{er} in diverse wise that w^{it}out the same bee more largely manned may ne cannot wel be kept agenst your ennymes and rebells if they shuld, as god defend, approche and move werre agenst the same. And also howe y^r said citie is not inhabit by the whiche th^{er} is not half the nombre of good men w^{it}n your said citie as thrhath been in tymes past. Wherefor it wold pleas your moost noble grace if the case require that your said ennymes approche unto the same to provide and ordan^e that your true citicyns th^{er}of may be con^{ve}niently assisted and releved at your p^{re} costs and charges wherby we trust to God to withstond yo^r said ennymes and kepe this your said citie unto you souvain lord. And where also yo^r said citie is not well furnessed w^{it} artilm^{en}t and stuff of ordn^{an}ce for the more diffence of the same as it hath beene h^{er}etofore for it hath beene changed of lait in that behalve. We beseeche your moste noble grace that some of yo^r ordn^{an}ce and artilm^{en}t of werr might be sent hidder to the same entent which wer a thing unto us of grete comforth and make us encouraged the more largely to withstand yo^r said ennymes f^{ur}ther to ye berer h^{er}of John Vavasor yo^r s^{er}vant at ye lawe and o^r recordor we besuch yo^r moost noble gr^{ace} to give credence in such things as shall shewe unto ye same upon our behalve concernyng the Prⁱⁿsses. And the blessed trinitie p^{er}ve you moost highe and mighty cristen p^{er}nce and oure moost redoubted souvain liege lord e^{ve}n in felicitee f^{ro}m your said citie the xxij day of A^{pr}il the secunde yere of your moost gracious reigne.

“Yo^r moost humble subjectts and tru liegemen the Maier Aldremen Shereffs and comune counsaill of your citie of York.”

To this Henry sent the subjoined reply.

“To o^r trusty and welbeloved the Majer Aldremen and Comons of o^r citie of York.”

“By the King.

“Trusty and welbeloved we grete you well And p^{er}eeve well the fast love and trouthe ye bere unto us accordingly to yo^r dutie and trust yo^r assured contynuaunce in ye same Whereby y^e shall cause us alwey to rest yo^r fau^{or}able and gracious souvain lord. And for so moche p^{er}Wenture as our rebells and thr adherents might by some crafty meanes and by espi^al doo som reproche or vilany to o^r citie there in case ye ne were forseyng and adv^{is}ed of the same We therfor h^{er}by p^{er}py you and as ye tendre the welle of o^r said citie and of your self exorte and desire you that ye have yo^r self from hensfurth in such await that noone espies passe by you untaken nor that any our rebells or thr Adherents come amongs you but that ye kepe due watche and warde for the suretie th^{er}of aswell by day as by night and from tyme to tyme as unto your discr^{et}ions it shalbe thocht behoveful, &c.”

The efficacy of this answer was soon evidenced by the spirit with which the work of renovation proceeded, and even individuals undertook to renew the dilapidated edifices. The walls of the city adjoining Fishergate were thus restored, and that entrance itself still bears testimony to the circumstance by these inscriptions: "A. Dom. M.CCCC.LXXXVII. S^r Willm. Codd, Knight and ma^r jou=ates some tyme was Shyriffe did this cost him= self." and within, "A. Domini M.CCCC.LXXXVII. Sir William Codd Knight L . . . mayre this wal was mayde in his dayes LX yerdyes." Probably, the Lord Mayor was incited to this liberality, by the presence of the King, who had bestowed on him, and on Richard Yorke, an active magistrate, the honour of knighthood. King Henry VII. experienced great danger during his residence, by an attempt made by some of the principal abettors of the Lambert Symnel conspiracy, to seize the king whilst celebrating St. George's day, from which he was rescued by the interposition of the Earl of Northumberland with a strong force. Many insurgents were secured, and hanged on gibbets, when Henry returned to London. The battle of Stoke, in Nottinghamshire, put an end to this singular experiment, and reduced the pretended scion of a noble house, to the dignified occupation of a scullion in his majesty's kitchen.*

A.D.
1487.

A tax, levied on the country by consent of parliament, for carrying war into France, gave such umbrage in the north, that the commissioners were openly resisted, and driven to seek the advice of the Earl of Northumberland. This nobleman, at the king's command, summoned the justices, and chief freeholders, to York, where, in an imperious tone, he certified the resolution to exact most rigorously every portion of the imposed tribute. The people flew to arms, and attacking the earl's house, slew him, and several of his servants. Thus far embroiled, the rioters were incited to other excesses by John Achamber, a seditious fellow, and being augmented to some thousands, placed themselves under the guidance of Sir John Egremont.† They were, however, soon defeated by the Earl of Surry, their leader Achamber was taken, and the rebel rout were in full flight for the City of York. Hence they dispersed on the approach of the earl, who elevated his chief prisoner above his fellows by the honour of a higher scaffold.

A.D.
1489.

To this commotion most probably Leland alludes in his description of the Fortifications, when he says, "Fisschar Gate, stoppid up sins the communes burnid it yn the tyme of king Henry VII."‡ The subjoined letter to John Ferriby, Lord Mayor, by its reference to some recent injury, strongly corroborates this presumption.§

A.D.
1491.

"By the King,

"Trusty and welbeloved we grete you well And forasmoche as we calle to our remembrance that our citie ther for lake of sufficient ordenances and habilyments of werre fortefying and repairing of your walles and clensying of your dykes was late lightly invaded to

* Bacon, p. 586.

† Ibid, p. 585.

‡ Leland's Itinerary, vol. I.

§ John Ferriby, Lord Mayor A.D. 1491, died in office.—*Catalogue of Mayors Civ. Ebor.* Drake has committed an error here in stating the endeavour of the insurgents to behead "Sir Richard Yorke, then Lord Mayor," as that magistrate had not held the office since the death of Edward IV. and according to the city catalogue, the chair was, at the time of Achamber's tumult, filled by John Harper.

ye great daunger therof and of or true subgects and inhabitants within the same We fully entending our seid citie to be kept and presarved from all suche perill hereafter woll and comaunde you to see in all convenient hast yo^r walles to be suffisantly amended yo^r dikes caste and clensed and suche competent habiliments of werre harness gones and gonpoudre as shal be thought metely and convenient for the suertie and defens of or seid citie And that this be don w^t al celerite and diligence as ye entende to please us and as noo default be arrected unto you if any inconvenients happen herafte. Geven und our signet at or palors of Westm^r the iiijth day of Marche.

“ To our trusty and welbeloved the Maire Aldremen
Comune Counsaill of our Citie of York.”*

A.D.
1501. In the seventeenth year of the reign of Henry VII. the corporate body “determined that there shuld be a substantial posturne mayde at Fyschergate, which then was closed up, and by reason therof as well the streets and buyldings within the walles as without wer clerely decayed and gone downe.” This order of the council was followed by the immediate construction of the tower at the extremity of the walls next the castle, to defend the entrance then made and now known as Fishergate Postern; and in the same year, “a piece of the citie walle, between Walmgate and the water of Fosse, was new mayde out of the ground; and another piece was taken down and new set up again.”†

The remainder of Henry the Seventh’s reign, although thickly charged with stirring events, affords nothing to enrich the military annals of York.

A.D.
1513. By the commission of the Earl of Surry, York and the Ainsty were compelled to furnish five hundred men towards the army, destined for the expedition into Scotland, which fought on Flodden Field, and are recorded in an old ballad bearing that title.

“ And next went Sir John Mandevile,
“ With him the citizens of York.”

The dissolution of monasteries, and of Catholic institutions, by King Henry VIII. was a deathblow to the splendour and prosperity of this venerable city: few parts of England were richer in religious establishments than Yorkshire; and when thus suddenly robbed of the immense revenues, which, although they might pamper the pride of the Church, yet afforded sustenance to thousands, now dependent on the alms of charity, a convulsion, sudden and powerful, was inevitable.

Forty thousand men enrolled themselves under the banner of Robert Aske, a gentleman of large fortune, and great influence. Several persons of higher rank joined in the “pilgrimage of grace,” as it was denominated; and having set forth the objects of the enterprise, commenced their operations. They soon became masters of the City of York, perhaps without any opposition from the inhabitants; they took Hull; and the submission of Pontefract Castle, gave the rebels a strong hold, and two great acquisitions to their party, Lord d’Arcy, and the Archbishop of the diocese. After many tedious negotiations in the neighbourhood of Doncaster,

* For this, and the two preceding letters, the authors are indebted to Robert Davies, Esq. of York.

† City Records.

a general pardon, and a promise to redress the grievances complained of, dispersed the insurgents; but the king's neglect of the agreement, roused them again to arms. The duke of Norfolk was now better prepared to oppose them. Robert Aske, Lord D'Arcy, the Abbots of Fountains, Jervaux, and Rivaux, the Prior of Bridlington, Sir Robert Constable, Sir John Bulmer, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Stephen Hamilton, and several others were made prisoners, sent to London, tried, condemned, and most of them executed at different places.* Aske alone suffered at York, and was hanged in chains on the top of Clifford's Tower.

During this reign, only one other rebellion in the north is recorded, which was inconsiderable in itself, and suppressed with little difficulty. Sir John Nevile, and ten associates, were executed at York, and the venerable Countess of Salisbury, the last of the Plantagenets, on the supposition that the insurrection had been raised at the instigation of her son, Cardinal Pole, perished in London.

A.D.
1541.

King Henry resolved on a progress through the disturbed counties, in order, by his presence, to quiet the minds of his subjects, to reconcile them to his government, and to effect, by an interview with the king of Scotland, a close union with that kingdom. He journeyed to York, where he received considerable tributes from the different authorities, and, after remaining some days in fruitless expectancy of his nephew, he returned to his capital. Leland has left a very curious description of the state of the Fortifications of the City of York in this reign, which is so singularly apposite, that it deserves insertion.

" Thus goith the Waul from the Ripe (*or Bank*) of Owse of the Est Parte of the cite of York.

" Fyrst a great Towre with a Chein of Yren to caste over the Owse: then another Towre, and so to Boudom (*or Bootham*) Gate: from Boudom Bar or Gate to Goodrome (*now Monk*) Gate or Bar X. Towres. Thens 4. Towres to Laythorp a Posterngate: and so by the space of a 2. flite shottes the blynde and depe water of Fosse cumming oute of the Forest of Galtres, defendith this part of the Cyte without Waulle. Then to Waume Gate 3 Towres, and thens to Fisscher Gate, stoppid up sins the communes burnid it yn the tyme of Henry the 7. And yn the Waul by this Gate is a stone with this inscription: LX Yardes yn length Anno D. 1445. William Todde Mair of York did this coste.†

" Sum say that Waume Gate was erected at the stopping up of Fisschar Gate: but I dout of that.‡

" Thens to the Ripe of Fosse a 3. Towres, and in the 3. a Posterne. And thens over Fosse by a Bridge to the Castel.

" The Area of the Castelle is of no very great Quantite. There be a 5. ruinus Towres in it.

" The Arx is al in ruine: and the roote of the Hille that yt stondith on is environid with an Arme derivid out of Fosse water.

" The West Part of the cite of York is thus enclosid: first a Turret, and so the Waul rennith over the side of the Dungeon of the Castelle on the West side of Owse right agayn the castelle on the Est Ripe. The Plotte of this Castelle is now called the Old Baile and the Area and ditches of it do manifestely appere. Betwixt the beginning of the firste Part of this West Waulle and Michel Gate be IX. Towres: and betwixt it and the Ripe again of Owse be a

* Hume, vol. IV. pp. 121-2-3-4.

† This is the sense of the inscription, but not verbatim. The date is altogether erroneous. Vide p. 31 ante.

‡ The report, to which Leland here alludes, arose doubtless from the erection of the Postern on the other side of Fisher Gate, which really was the consequence of blocking up that entrance.

XI. Towres. And at this lower Towre of the XI. ys a Posterne Gate: and the Towre of it is right again the East Towre to draw over the Chaine on Owse betwixt them.”*

A.D.
1562.

In the fifth year of the reign of Elizabeth, order was made by the city council, for the “good and speedy amendment and repair of certain decayed Walls of the city nigh the Red Tower in Walmgate Ward.”

A.D.
1572.

The renewed ascendancy of the Protestant religion, after the death of Mary, stirred up some opponents in the north. Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and Charles Neville, Earl of Westmorland, entered into a conspiracy to raise Mary, Queen of Scots, to the English throne. After reducing Barnard Castle, the insurgent leaders fled on the approach of the Earl of Sussex, Lord President of the north, with the Royal forces, and their ill-assorted followers became a sacrifice to their schemes.† Simon Digby of Askew, John Fulthorpe of Islebeck, Robert Pennyman of Stokesley, and Thomas Bishop, the younger, of Pocklington, all gentlemen of fortune, were tried at York, and on Good Friday were drawn to Knavesmire, hanged, beheaded, and quartered. The heads of the rebels, and four of their limbs, were fixed over the different Gates of the city.

The Earl of Northumberland fell into the Queen’s power, by the treachery of the Earl of Moreton, and having been attainted before parliament, suffered on a scaffold erected in the Pavement at York, on the 22nd of August 1574, and his head, fixed on a high pole, was placed on Micklegate Bar.‡

April 1603
and
August
1617.

King James the First twice honoured York with his presence. During his sojourn, the keys of the Gates and Posterns were delivered into the king’s hands, but James resided without the city, at the Manor House, erected by the command of Henry VIII. out of the ruins of St. Mary’s Abbey.

A.D.
1615.

Between these royal visits, the functions of the chief magistrate were performed during the year of authority, by Elias Micklethwaite, a man whose religious principles wrought considerable nuisance to the less bigoted inhabitants. To enforce the faithful observance of the Sabbath, he caused every outlet of the city to be kept closed on that day, during the whole of his mayoralty.§

Charles I. whose unfortunate reign confers great brilliancy on the loyalty of York, rested in that city on his progress to Scotland, in May 1633.

A.D.
1639.

When preparing to carry war into Scotland, he came again to the city of York, and was received by the Lord Mayor, in state, at Micklegate Bar, and saluted with a volley of musquetry, from six hundred of the trained band, who were here drawn out in order, dressed in buff coats, scarlet breeches silver laced, russet boots, black caps and large feathers. When the king had reached the Manor House, the trained bands performed their exercise in the fields on the opposite side of the river, and greeted the royal visitor with four other discharges of their fire arms. The royal army was appointed to rendezvous at York; and Charles, having spent nearly a month in reviewing and organizing his troops, departed on his Scottish expedition.

The ensuing year, when the king had disbanded his forces, the Scots, under the command of the Earls of Leven and Montrose, entered England, and possessed themselves of Northumberland and the Bishopric of Durham. Charles made a rapid journey to York, when the militia were raised, and soldiers were pressed into the service.

* Leland’s Itin. vol. I. ed. Oxford, 1710.

† Drake, Hist. Ebor.

‡ Stowe, p. 662.

§ Hargrove’s Hist. York, vol. I.

On the 31st of August, the king rode about the city, attended by the Marquis of Hamilton, several general officers, some aldermen, and citizens, and marked out several entrenchments and fortifications. On the 7th of September, writs were issued for assembling the peers of the realm at York, and on the same day, Sir Jacob Astley entered the city with the whole of the royal army, amounting to twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse. Half of these were encamped in Clifton fields, and the other on the opposite bank, having a bridge of boats to connect them. At the same time fifty pieces of ordnance, one hundred and thirty-two wagons loaded with powder, shot, and matches, with several carriages of picks, spades, and shovels, arrived from the king's magazines at Hull. Many cannon were planted before the camp, where several ramparts and bulwarks had been thrown up, and a guard was kept at every Bar and Postern. As an additional security, Charles requested the gentry of Yorkshire to support the trained bands for two months, to which they consented.*

A.D.
1640.

On the 24th of September the Peers met in the Deanery, where the great hall had been prepared for their reception. The petition of the Scots was read, and sixteen noblemen were appointed to conclude a treaty with them at Ripon.† At the same time it was resolved, that two hundred thousand pounds be borrowed of the City of London, to defray the expenses of the king's troops.‡ On one occasion, Edward, Lord Herbert, greatly exasperated at the Scottish claims, advised Charles to fortify the city of York more strongly, and refuse them. The import of his speech is thus given by Rushworth.

"First. That Newcastle being taken, it was necessary to fortify York, there being no other considerable place betwixt the Scots and London, which might detain their army from advancing forwards.

"Secondly. That reasons of state having admitted fortifications of our most inland towns, against weapons used in former times, it may well admit fortification against the weapons used in these times.

"Thirdly. That towns have always been averse to wars, tumults, &c.

"Fourthly. That this agreeth with the customs of all other countries, there being no town anywhere he knew in Christendom, of the greatness of York, that hath not its bastions and bulwarks.

"As for the charges, the citizens of York might undertake that, by his Majesty's permission, for since it is a maxim of war, that every town may fortify its circumference within the space of two months, the expenses cannot be great.

"And for the manner of doing it, nothing else is needful, but that at the distance of every twenty-five score paces round about the town, the walls should be thrown down, and certain bastions, or bulwarks of earth erected, by the advice of some good engineer:" and Lord Herbert concluded his speech by adding, that the townsmen might be employed in effecting this service, as well as defray the expense of ordnance, ammunition, and a magazine, rather than be subjected to the state of the Newcastle men, who were mulcted by the Scots of eight hundred and fifty pounds per day. He enforced this argument by an allusion to the old law of murage, and advised the king rather to expend the forty thousand pounds per month in sustaining his army, than yield to the Scotch demands.

This oration, however, was productive of no alteration, or addition to the defences, and the treacherous commissioners, having prevailed on Charles to remove the scene of conference to

* Drake, Hist. Ebor.

† Clarendon, vol. I. p. 155.

‡ Rushworth, vol. III. p. 1279.

London, agreed to pay the enemy their full claims, rather than suffer Lord Strafford to dislodge them, which he had already begun to do, by defeating three or four regiments which had advanced beyond the line of demarkation, during the treaty.*

At length, this unfortunate monarch, finding all his resources exhausted, was compelled to summon that parliament which was destined to deprive him of his kingdom and his life. One of its first acts was to vote down the Council at York,† of which Lord Strafford was the last President and Judge.

A.D.
1641,
Novr.

Charles rested some time in this city in his progress to Scotland, and soon after his return, perceiving the increased hostility of the Commons, removed his court to York. Here he was joined by great numbers of the nobility, who now dared to approach him, and tender their services in the support of the unhappy monarch.

A.D.
1642.

After the unsuccessful attempt to reduce Hull, the king returned to York, where he convened the gentry of the county to the number of four thousand in the Castle yard, who, at his request, raised him a body guard, consisting of two hundred young gentlemen, placed under the order of the Prince of Wales, and lieutenant colonel Sir Francis Wortley, and at the same time, seven hundred of the trained bands, in his majesty's pay, were committed to the conduct of Sir Robert Strickland. On Friday the 3rd of June, a vast multitude assembled by the king's direction on Heworth Moor, where Charles addressed them, setting forth his endeavours to avoid the perpetration of any violence, to which the people returned their acquiescence by the most tumultuous acclamations, and having experienced several proofs of their loyalty, he now prepared for extremities.‡ The royal banner was at length unfurled at Nottingham.

On the king's departure from York, the Lord Mayor summoned the citizens to the Guildhall, where the commission of Henry, Earl of Cumberland, was read, the city ordered to be placed in a state of defence, and ordnance were directed to be mounted at the Bars.

Sir Thomas Glemham having been twice repulsed in attempts to take Wetherby, the principal freeholders of the County of York despatched an express for the Earl of Newcastle, who quickly arrived with six thousand horse and foot, and ten cannon, to their assistance, and to him the Earl of Cumberland resigned the command.

The new Lord General, the Earl of Newcastle, soon dislodged the enemy from Tadcaster and Wetherby, and by his intrepidity and skill, within six weeks, Sheffield, Wakefield, Leeds, Halifax, and Bradford, were reduced to the obedience of the Royalists. York continued the head quarters and receptacle for the prisoners, of whom the Castle contained three hundred and eighty, Davy Hall one hundred, and Merchant's Hall one hundred and eight.

On the 8th of March the Queen entered the city from Bridlington, escorted by the Lord General with eight troops of horse and fifteen companies of foot, bringing with her thirty-six brass and two iron ordnance, three mortars, and five hundred carts laden with stores and ammunition. York was now strengthened at every point, Clifford's Tower was partially repaired by the Earl of Cumberland's command, and placed under the care of Sir Francis Cob, with two demy culverins, and a saker, to defend it. Two cannon were planted on the Old Baile, one at Fryers, two sling pieces and one small drake, on some barks, between Skeldergate Postern and the opposite bank, and two at each of the Bars. Without Walmgate, a strong bulwark was erected, and at the ends of several lanes within the city, ditches and banks were thrown

* Clarendon, vol. I. p. 159.

† Hume, vol. VI. p. 277.

‡ Drake, Hist. Ebgr.

up, and hogsheads filled with earth ranged for barricados. The magistrates were obliged to provide eight hundred men to work continually at the repairs of the walls, and the same number was added to them from the country. Each citizen paid two pounds per month towards the expenses of the army, was compelled to find a man to bear arms, or pay five shillings per week for a substitute, and to contribute six shillings, per month, for fires at the guard houses, besides having to support four or five soldiers on free billet.*

The Earl of Montrose, having deserted the covenanters, presented himself to the Queen at York, with one hundred and twenty horse, and Sir Hugh Cholmley, of Howsham, governor of Scarborough Castle, returned to obedience at the same time, with three hundred men. The Queen, after a residence of nearly three months, was safely conducted to the king by the Earl of Newcastle, for which he received the title of Marquis.

The Scotch army being again in England, and the Parliamentary forces having defeated Colonel Bellasis at Selby, the Marquis of Newcastle was constrained to evacuate Durham, and retire upon York, closely followed by the Earl of Leven. Sir Thomas and Lord Fairfax now resolved on forming the siege of this city, but found even their numerous forces insufficient completely to invest it.† The northern side continued open, and the Lord General, having five thousand horse, could transport them to either side, by means of the bridge over the Ouse, thus keeping the leaguers continually in fear. The Earl of Manchester having reduced Lincoln, was invited to their assistance, and he, with six thousand foot, three thousand horse, and twelve field pieces, being placed without Bootham, completed their arrangements. The Scots were stationed on the outside of Micklegate, Fairfax with his forces on the south-east, and thus were thirty thousand men drawn round to attack the city.‡

A.D.
1644.

The enemy began the assault, by opening a battery of five cannon on Windmill Hill, towards Heslington, which played incessantly on the Castle and City. They soon advanced nearer, took possession of the buildings without Walmgate, and planted two pieces of artillery in the street, and another within a stone cast against that Bar.§ The besieged returned the cannonade with great vigour, and wrought considerable damage on the enemy's works. The garrison set fire to the suburbs, to prevent their adversaries making use of them to cover their operations, and drew the inhabitants into the city from the fury of the flames, and the rage of the besiegers, who now fought desperately to put a stop to the conflagration. The Earl of Manchester's men fell on near Walmgate Bar, and took possession of the church of St. Nicholas, but the fire from the city compelled them to decamp. The Earl of Leven siezed a great number of cattle, which had nearly been thrown into the town on the west, but otherwise effected no considerable success.

The Marquis of Newcastle now sought to amuse the confederated commanders by specious pretences of an inclination to surrender, hoping in the mean time, that Prince Rupert would arrive, and compel them to raise the siege. After several notes had passed between the generals, deputies were appointed by the City|| and the Parliamentarians, to treat for the capitulation, when the latter intimated, that they could agree to a cessation of hostilities, only on that

* Drake, Hist. Ebor. from MS.

† Rushworth, vol. VI. p. 620.

‡ Memoirs of Sir T. Fairfax, p. 136.

§ Sir Henry Slingsby's Memoirs, p. 45.

|| Letter from before York, dated 16th June, 1644, published in the time of Charles I. in a collection of Pamphlets in Brit. Mus. This letter states that Lord Widrington, Sir Thomas Glemham, Sir Richard Hutton, Sir William Wentworth, Sir Robert Strickland, Sir Thomas Masham, and Master Robert Rockly, were appointed Commissioners on the part of the Citizens.

quarter where the conference should be carried on. In two days the Marquis despatched a refusal to the last term, which was answered by a summons to surrender within twenty-four hours. On the rejection of this haughty demand, a total suspension was granted, and the city commissioners proceeded to lay their proposals before the adverse committee, none of which, however, were listened to. The returned demands were so exorbitant, that none would submit them to the Lord General; but early the next day, Lesly, Earl of Leven, sent a trumpeter with a copy of them to the gates:—Newcastle replied, that, as a man of honour, he could not consent to such stipulations.†

The city of York was now assailed with redoubled vigour. Walmgate Bar was undermined in two places by Manchester's forces, and under St. Mary's Tower, at the north-east corner of the Fortifications to the Manor, a similar mine had been wrought under the direction of Colonel Crawford, without the knowledge of the king's party. Early on the morning of Trinity Sunday, a breach was battered in this wall near the river, which was instantly blocked up with earth, and rendered secure.‡ At noon the mine exploded with a tremendous roar. The commanders of the Royalists rushed from the Cathedral, where they were attending service, to their several posts, awaiting in breathless anxiety the result of the sudden alarm. The fall of the tower had destroyed one hundred soldiers, and most of the records which were deposited therein; but still the enemy were unable to enter without the aid of scaling ladders. An entry, however, was effected, and five hundred men took possession of this extraneous defence.

A party of the garrison now defiled through a private sally port to attack them, led by Sir Philip Byron, who commanded in that quarter. A severe conflict ensued, which terminated in the death of fifty of the enemy, the flight of nearly half the party, and the surrender of the rest. Two hundred common soldiers, sixteen corporals and serjeants, four lieutenants, four captains, and one Major, thus became prisoners of war.§ Of the besieged fell Sir Philip Byron, Colonel Huddleston, Mr. Samuel Brearey, captain of volunteers, and an inconsiderable number of men.

Beacons were now lighted on the top of Clifford's Tower, and the Cathedral, to hasten Prince Rupert, which were answered by fires on Pontefract Castle.||

The Scots were all this time busy at their mines under Walmgate, and the citizens equally so in countermining, when both were interrupted by the influx of water. The enemy, however, battered the Bar down as low as the gate, which had been closed up with earth, and a traverse made against it.¶

From this time until the 24th of June, the play of cannon, from and on the city, continued without intermission, when about four o'clock in the morning a desperate but unsuccessful sally was made from Monk Bar upon the Earl of Manchester's troops. Nothing further of importance occurred until the 30th, when, towards evening, rumours were spread of the immediate approach of Prince Rupert, at the head of twenty thousand men, which would that night

* The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer, pub. 25th June, 1644; Brit. Mus.

† Drake, Hist. Ebor. Hargrove's Hist. York, vol. I.

‡ Sir Henry Slingsby's Memoirs, p. 45.

§ Paper published in The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer, No. 60, Brit. Mus. This account being issued under power of the Parliament, might be looked upon as even a partial view of their loss, but for the corroborating testimony of the opposite party. Sir Thomas Fairfax states the loss at three hundred men.—*Memoirs*, p. 138.

|| Collection of Pamphlets temp. Charles I. in Brit. Mus.

¶ Sir H. Slingsby's Memoirs, p. 46. Halfpenny has made Sir Henry say this of Monk Bar, a perversion of the text.

be encamped at Knaresborough and Boroughbridge. The next day the Parliamentary generals thought it advisable to withdraw their troops from the trenches, which was effected without loss, and they retired to Marston Moor, expecting to intercept the Prince. In this however they were disappointed, for that commander, leaving his army on the Forest of Galtres, entered York attended only by a body of two hundred horse.

A junction thus formed, might have been productive of the greatest fortune to the Royal cause, had not the impetuosity of Rupert blasted every prospect. He pretended to have orders from the King to fight the enemy without delay, and, notwithstanding the prudent advice and urgent reasons given by the Marquis Newcastle, gave orders for the regiments to march from the city on the 2nd of July. The rash encounter on Marston Moor destroyed the hopes of the Royalists. All the artillery which had been drawn from the city was lost, and the broken forces fled in confusion to the gates of York.

The Marquis of Newcastle, disgusted at the arrogant bearing of the Prince, and at the insult he had received, took his departure with about ninety of his friends, and embarked for Hamburg. Prince Rupert assembled his forces, and marched into Lancashire to meet Colonel Clavering, whose arrival had been confidently foretold by the gallant Newcastle.

The misunderstandings, which had arisen amongst the Parliamentary leaders, were quickly laid aside on being assured that the City of York had been thus strangely deserted, and, although they felt little inclination to re-invest a post, into which they knew considerable supplies had been thrown, they agreed once more to assault the city. The command now devolved on Sir Thomas Glemham, who, with the Lord Mayor, bid defiance to the summons to surrender on mercy. A new battery was constructed by the besiegers upon the hill in Bishop's Fields, another between Walmgate Bar and Layrethorpe Postern, and a bridge had been constructed to lay across the Foss near the latter place; every thing was ready for taking York by storm, before the besieged beat a parley.*

The governor, after having sustained a siege for eighteen weeks since the first attack, repulsed twenty storms, executed four countermines, and killed between four and five thousand of the enemy, consented to a capitulation, according to Rushworth, on the following terms, drawn up by Sir William Constable and Colonel Lambert.

"That Sir Thomas Glemham, as governor of the city of York, shall surrender and deliver up the same, with the forts, tower, cannon, ammunition, and furniture of war belonging thereunto, on the 16th July instant, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, to the three Generals, or to whom they shall appoint for the use of the King and Parliament, in the manner and upon the conditions following;—

"I. That all the officers shall march forth the city with their arms, drums beating, colours flying, match lighted, bullet in mouth, bag and baggage.

"II. That they shall have a convoy, that no injury be done them in their march to Skipton.

"III. That sick and maimed soldiers shall not be hindered from going after their recoveries.

"IV. That all soldiers' wives and children may have liberty to go to their husbands and fathers, to their own homes and estates, and enjoy them peaceably under contribution.

"V. That no soldier shall be enticed away.

"VI. That the citizens and inhabitants may enjoy all their privileges which formerly they did at the beginning of these troubles, and may have freedom of trade both by sea and land, paying such duties and customs as all other cities under obedience of Parliament.

"VII. That if any garrison be placed in the city, two parts in three shall be Yorkshiremen, no free quarter shall be put upon any without his free consent, and the armies shall not enter the city before the Governor and Lord Mayor be acquainted.

* Sir H. Slingsby's Memoirs, p. 53. The Postern here referred to is by Sir Henry called the Latern.

" VIII. That in all charges the citizens, residents, and inhabitants shall bear only such part with the county at large as was formerly in all other assessments.

" IX." A long article, referring to the liberty of the citizens, &c.

" X." Ditto, conferring similar privileges on absentees, &c.

" XI. That neither churches, nor other buildings, shall be defaced, nor any plunderings nor taking of any man's person, nor any part of his estate, suffered; and that justice shall be administered within the City by the magistrates according to law, who shall be assisted therein, if need require, by the garrison."

" XII. That all persons whose dwellings are in the City, though now absent, may enjoy the benefit of these Articles as if they were present.

" Signed

" FERDINAND FAIRFAX,

" MANCHESTER,

" ADAM HEPBORNE,

" LORD HUMBER.

" WILLIAM CONSTABLE,

" THOMAS GLENNAM."

On these extraordinary conditions, the garrison evacuated York on the 17th of July, 1644, delivering into the hands of the generals thirty-five pieces of ordnance, three thousand stand of arms, and five barrels of gunpowder, besides other stores. The forces of the Parliament, drawn up on each side the road, extended nearly a mile beyond Micklegate, and the brave defenders of this ancient city, marched through them with all the honours of war. Some violence was committed upon their personal property on the march, but this was severely punished by the victorious commanders.

Immediately after the fall of York, the three armies separated, heartily tired of each others company; the Scotch marched northwards, the Earl of Manchester into Lincolnshire, and Lord Fairfax remained, being constituted governor of the city, with orders from the Parliament to reduce every fortress that still held out for the king in the north.

The Fortifications being greatly shattered by the siege, were ordered to be restored. Walmgate Bar, which had suffered most, was not completed until 1648;—Bootham Bar, from the great similarity in the contour of its details, must have undergone reparation at the same time; the walls near the Red Tower, show the architectural style of the period, and two sides of the square entrance to Clifford's Tower, which had been exposed to the battery near Heslington, were at this period entirely rebuilt.

On the 1st of January, 1646, the discharge of all the artillery about the city, announced the arrival of the moiety of the four hundred thousand pounds, for which the Scotch had sold their king.

A.D.
1646.

February 2nd, it was resolved by the Parliament, " That Clifford's Tower be kept with a garrison in it of three score foot,"* when the rest of the garrison was withdrawn, and the custody of the city bestowed on the Lord Mayor.

On the night of the 11th June, an attempt was made to wrest York from the republicans, which was repulsed after a slight skirmish at Micklegate Bar.†

A.D.
1648.

On Cromwell's journey to Scotland, in passing through the city, he was saluted with a volley from Clifford's Tower, and, to confer a greater compliment before his return, the royal arms were removed from Bootham Bar, and those of the state sculptured in their place.‡

* Journal of the House of Commons, 1646.

† Pamphlets in Brit. Mus.

‡ Drake has recorded the same of Micklegate, but this does not appear to have been the case. Perhaps they may have been put up at Clifford's Tower, and removed for those of Charles II.

Lord Fairfax, whose principles had undergone great change since the exertion of his genius in the destruction of York, became the chief instrument in paving the way in this quarter, for the restoration. He took possession of the city for General Monk, who approached with his army, and entered amid the acclamations of the populace.

A.D.
1650.

King Charles II. was proclaimed in York on the 11th of May, 1660. The royal arms of England were inserted within a stone panel over the entrance to Clifford's Tower, and the armorial bearings of the family from whom this fortress derived its name, immediately below them: the form of the shield, and the use of the coronet, being sufficient to deny the latter earlier existence.

An insurrection soon broke out amongst the old parliament troopers, and conventical preachers, who could ill bear the new order of things, but were dispersed at the place of rendezvous, Farnley Wood; the ringleaders being secured, were tried at York, and most of them executed. Four of their heads were placed on Micklegate Bar, three on Bootham, one on Walmgate, and three over the Castle Gates. Two of them were quartered, and their limbs set up over the different Bars.

A.D.
1663.

In 1666 the walls of the city were repaired between Monk Bar and Layrethorp Postern; in 1669 those near Bootham Bar were restored at the expense of the Corporation, and in 1682 Lendal Tower was first appropriated to the water works.

In 1683 Sir John Reresby was appointed governor; but the next year on St. George's Day, April 23rd, at 10 P.M. "happened a most dreadful fire within Clifford's Tower, which consumed to ashes all the interior thereof, leaving standing only the outshell of the walls, without other harm to the city, save one man slain by the fall of a piece of timber, blown up by the force of the flames, or rather by some powder therein. It was generally thought a wilful act, the soldiers not suffering the citizens to enter till it was too late; and what made it more suspicious was, that the gunner had got out all his goods before it was discovered."* The garrison had long been obnoxious to the citizens, when this accident afforded them much amusement and matter for congratulation. At their convivial meetings, in memory of the event, "the demolishing of the minced pie" was often toasted. The Castle henceforth was used as a prison.

Sir John Reresby thus curiously states the situation of York in 1688; "An Archbishoprick without an Archbishop, a City without a Mayor, and a Garrison without a soldier;" but shortly adds, "I had one company of foot sent to continue with me."† He, and his new garrison, however, were immediately siezed by the Lords Danby, Lumley, Horton, Willoughby, Fairfax, Sir Thomas Gower, and Captains Tankard and Robinson, who placed guards at the Gates, until the succession of the prince of Orange and the princess Mary had been fully confirmed.

In 1699, Henry Thompson, Lord Mayor, at his own expense, took down and rebuilt Castlegate Postern with a larger arch, that his carriage might pass the gate to his country house.‡ In 1716 Micklegate Bar, to use the expression of the times, was "beautified" during the mayoralty of Robert Townes; in 1719 the inner front of Bootham Bar was rebuilt; in 1732 New Walk Postern was constructed; and in 1740 an order was issued by the City Council for the roofing and repairing Fishergate Postern.§

* Allen's Hist. Yorkshire, vol. II. p. 205, e MS.

† Hargrove's Hist. York. vol. I.

‡ Sir J. Reresby's Mem. p. 278-9.

§ City Records.

A.D.
1746.

The Scotch rebellion operated very slightly on the fortunes of York; several corps were raised for its defence, but, as the Pretender's army took another route, they were never brought into action. After the battle of Culloden, William Duke of Cumberland, the commander in chief, Lords Cathcart and Ancram, with the military staff, visited York, and were received with all the honours due to their services. Twenty-two of the rebels suffered in the City, and the heads of William Conolly and James Mayne were fixed on iron spikes over Micklegate Bar, where they remained until the year 1754.

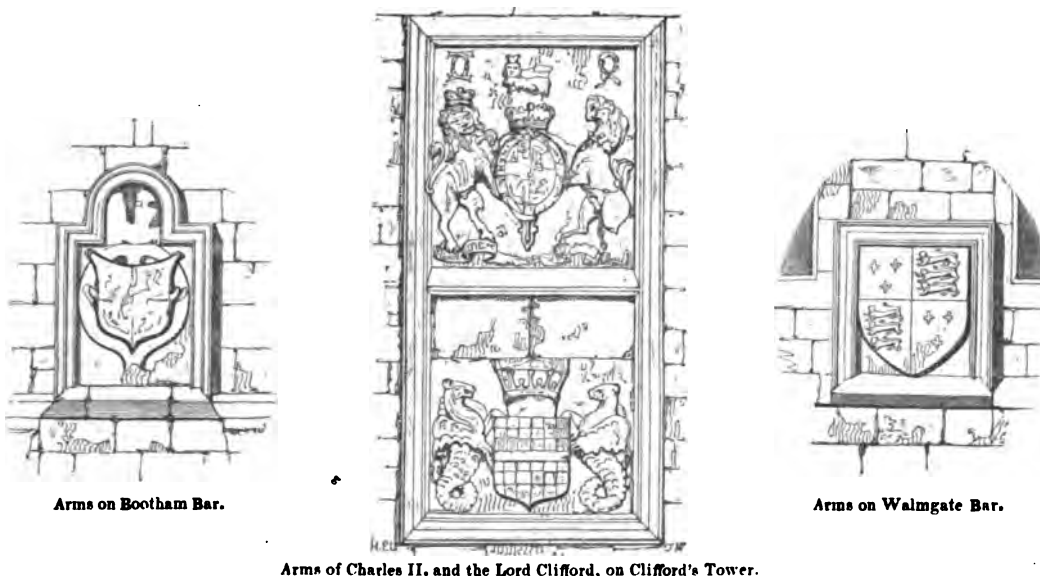
Since this event, the military importance of York has declined. Slight insurrections might cause a momentary alarm, and this City shared, with the rest of the country, the panic arising from the threatened invasion in 1803, but its venerable defences were suffered to fall to the ground, and neglect and time wrought surer ruin, than even the vengeance of a conqueror. Modern improvement was fast burying the noble vestiges in oblivion, when the historian and the topographer partially aroused the nation to a knowledge of their antiquities, and endeavoured to ensure their preservation by an appeal to intellectual associations.

An inclination being once excited amongst some of the principal patrons of the City to restore the Fortifications to their pristine state, the means were soon forthcoming, but, unfortunately, the rage for spoliation still prevailed, and many most curious portions were entirely swept away. In the year 1825 Monk Bar was completely renovated at an expense of three hundred and seventy pounds, but lost its Barbican; in 1826 Castlegate Postern was removed, and Clifford's Tower, would, at the same time, have been sacrificed to the alterations at the Castle, but for the interference of several talented and spirited gentlemen, when it may be mentioned that a pamphlet on the subject appeared from George Strickland, Esq. now M.P. for the County of York, which will remain a strong attestation of his good taste and feeling. The ensuing year Micklegate underwent the fate of Monk Bar, at an outlay of five hundred and eighty pounds; and in the year 1831 Bootham Bar lost half its Barbican, and the rest is fast disappearing.

The report furnished by Thomas Rayson, Esq. of York, which dissipated the idea of immense expense being unavoidable, led to a determination to restore the walls themselves, which was effected between North Street Postern and Micklegate Bar, and from the latter to the now demolished Postern in Skeldergate, by a public subscription in 1831, during the third mayoralty of the Right Hon. Lord Dundas. Endeavours have since been made to raise an adequate sum, for the repair of the walls of the City on the eastern side of the river, which the spirit of the present Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress has considerably accelerated. A County Ball given at York at the commencement of the present year, under their patronage, as well as under that of the principal nobility in the neighbourhood,* so greatly augmented the requisite funds, that directions were issued by the Council for the immediate progress of the works, and for the renovation of Bootham Bar, and in a few years no circumstance will more testify the taste and munificence of the age, than the preservation of the ancient Gates and Fortifications to the City of York.

* On the occasion of the Ball, the following lines were circulated:

"In days of yore, the city walls,
Were battered and laid waste by balls,
But Lady Mayoress, through your care,
A Ball will now the walls repair."



AN ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ANCIENT FORTIFICATIONS TO THE CITY OF YORK.

THE boundaries of the Castle of York now enclose whatever remains of the old Fortress, of which, notwithstanding many vestiges have been destroyed within late years, there yet exists much to interest the antiquary.

Clifford's Tower, the principal object, commanded by its elevated site the whole area of the Castle, and although detached from the rest of the Fortifications, was accounted the stronghold and last resource of the garrison. Its form is composed of the segments of four circles, much resembling the shape of a quatrefeuille in its plan; at three of the exterior intersections are turrets supported on corbels, and at the fourth, towards the Castle, a square tower to defend the entrance: this last, however, was a subsequent addition to the more substantial building. The mound on which it stands, has been by many supposed a Roman work, fully refuted by no evidence, excepting the custom of the Normans, and that we meet with no account of it previously to the Conquest. Originally, the mound sloped precipitately from the base of the tower to the edge of the moat by which it was entirely surrounded; but the alterations to the prison having demanded some of its extent, much has been cut away, and the rest confined within a modern wall. Access was formerly gained only by a drawbridge, which commenced on the opposite wall of the Castle, and terminated about midway on the mound, whence a steep and narrow flight of steps led to the entrance. The foundation of Clifford's Tower varies from six to seven feet in depth, is composed of rubble only, and ascertained to be bedded on a stratum of the firmest clay. The superincumbent walls are nine feet nine inches in thickness, and faced with regular courses of limestone eight inches deep; but the walls of the square Tower are not so uniform, nor are they more than three feet six inches thick. The entrance arch is elliptical, and above it, in a double panel, are the arms of King Charles II., with those of the Clifford family, from whom this fortress derived its name, they being formerly, says Sir Thomas Widdrington, the Casteleyns, or Wardens. The motto, "Desormais," so faithfully recorded even by the latest writers, has, however, long been wanting. The porch within is small, having on the right a stone seat for the warder, and on the left a winding staircase to the Chapel, or room above, now impassable.

The front of this square Tower projects only nine feet from the face of the original gate, which has a pointed arch springing from acute angles. This is eleven feet thick, and retains a groove for a portcullis, and hinges for a massy gate, as well as a receptacle for a sliding bar with which it was secured. The interior of the Tower itself exhibits the traces of two stories, the lower being about eighteen feet three inches in height, and the other little more than thirteen feet. The segments to the right and left of the principal gate present a winding staircase, which led to the upper apartments and to the top of the walls, besides two recesses with pointed arches and narrow loops, whence to observe or assail the enemy. The two

remoter divisions contain a fire place with a flue, two recesses similar to the former, and a place of convenience for the garrison. All these are in the thickness of the wall.

The staircase on the left of the Gate communicates with a chamber over the entrance, which, for want of other evidence, has been generally thought the Chapel. It measures fifteen feet seven inches, by fourteen feet one inch, and encroaches much upon the thickness of the original wall. The north and east sides are still decorated with ornamented arches, once supported by slender cylinders, the bases and capitals of which alone remain; but the others are rudely lined with brick, having been rebuilt after the great siege in 1644, with little reference to the uniformity of the interior, and further injured by its appropriation as a dovecot within later years. An arch, a few steps higher on this staircase, opens to what has been the second range of apartments, which varies in nothing from the lower, excepting that there are no provisions for fires. No traces of floors remain, more than a ragged ledge formed by a reduction in the thickness of the wall, and holes for the reception of beams, which probably radiated to a centre, and were there supported on massy cylinders, or closed into apartments by walls, thus leaving a square and open space in the midst of the building, which would afford light to the garrison, and ready means for conveyance of military engines to the summit of the tower. It is from this level the turrets, before alluded to, commence; those to the east and west containing other staircases to the top of the walls or turrets, but that next the City forms a curious apartment, which, although imagined by many to have been for stores, its disposition, and a funnel which opens near the ground at the exterior angle of the walls, show to have been applied to a very different purpose. Another funnel running under the floor, and connected with an aperture above, clearly indicates the existence of a corresponding contrivance, and that these turrets rose considerably above the rest of Clifford's Tower.

Four staircases, one on each side the entrance gate, and one in the east and west turrets, lead to the platform on the walls, which affords nothing whence to infer any peculiar arrangement. A stone water spout, of an early character, proves its greatest height never to have been much more than thirty-six feet; whilst the highest part of the parapet, which in some places bears the trace of loopholes, no where exceeds forty feet. The greatest internal diameter of the Tower is sixty-four feet, and the smallest forty-five feet. A well, within the area of the walls to the right of the entrance gate, fifty-three feet deep, with more than eight feet of good water, at all times plentifully supplied the garrison. Clifford's Tower, at that time situated without the limits of the Castle, continued the property of the crown until the reign of James I. when by a grant it was conveyed to Babington and Duffield, in which it is denominated, "*Totam illam peciam terrae nostram scituat. jacent, et existent. in civit. nost. Ebor. vocat. Clifford's Tower.*" In the civil wars it was again armed for an English monarch, afterwards descended to Samuel Waud, Esq. and lastly bought for the county, and enclosed within a boundary wall of the modern prison.

The Castle of York in the reign of Richard III. was so dilapidated, that a new one was judged absolutely necessary, and commenced; yet in the reign of Henry VIII., it had but "five ruinous towres in it." There were two entrances, one from the City between Clifford's Tower and the Foss, and another over that river by a drawbridge opposite Fishergate Postern. The latter was removed in the year 1701, when great alterations were made to adapt the Fortress for the reception of felons, and the other, when the present extensive additions were commenced. All that now exists of the old building are two small towers at the southern extremity of the plot, but these were not the most outward, the remains of double towers and a sally port having been demolished in 1806, which were still beyond. The foundations of many walls prove that the principal buildings, of whatever nature they may have been, were situated here.

At the eastern end of a wall, running from the Castle to the banks of the Ouse, stood Castlegate Postern, an erection, which, as it possessed but a small share either of beauty or curiosity, was little lamented when the progress of improvement in 1826 required its demolition. The dates 1625 and 1636 remain very legible on this wall, which is terminated at the waters edge by a brick dwelling house erected on the foundations of an old tower, and by the New Walk Postern, a palisade gate, made at the expense of the Corporate Body in 1732.

The Tower on the opposite bank of the river has almost totally disappeared, as well as the wall by which it was united to Skeldergate Postern, an inconvenient outlet to a busy thoroughfare, removed by an order of the City Council in 1808. At the time of the late repairs, a new arch was opened at the Old Baile, over which are the arms of York, and beneath, "THESE WALLS WERE RESTORED BY SUBSCRIPTION, A.D. 1831, DURING THE THIRD MAYORALTY OF THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD DUNDAS." From the inner side of this gate, an ascent by fifty steps to the platform of the wall which crosses the Old Baile, immediately commences. This hill, which has evidently been cast up to operate with Clifford's Tower in the complete command of the river, as well as to overawe the western portion of the City, retains not one single vestige of antiquity, though, doubtless, were a search permitted, its original disposition might be elucidated. It is certain the Fort it sustained must have been considerably inferior in importance to Clifford's Tower.

One tower,* only, occurs between this mound and the southern angle of the Fortifications, which is defended by a circular one of twenty-five feet six inches diameter. The interior formerly served for a part of the garrison, but is now reduced to a cow-house; the chamber is lighted by narrow loops, and has a small door towards the city. Its platform is raised two steps higher than that adjoining, and like the rest, has an embattled parapet nearly six feet in height and eighteen inches thick. Hence to Micklegate Bar there are eight towers, different in size and plan, the last of which, however, is not yet restored. The wall itself varies from five feet six inches to seven feet six inches in thickness, and from twelve feet to seventeen feet in height, and is irregularly embattled and buttressed. One staircase only renders the walls accessible in the whole of this space. Thirty three steps form a descent into Micklegate, and a double flight on the opposite side communicates with the rest of the walls on the western side of the river Ouse, though, until lately, a platform over the street rendered the whole one uninterrupted promenade.

Micklegate Bar, the entrance to this City from London, derives much of its superiority from situation, its effect being much injured by the opening of a disproportionate arch for the convenience of foot passengers in 1754, and of another in 1827, when the building suffered an irreparable loss by the removal of the Barbican. The chief architectural characteristic is simple elegance, almost too nearly approaching tameness, but relieved by the emblazonry of its shields and gilding of the canopies. The general form is that of a square tower, supported on piers, with circular turrets at the outer angles. Many blocks of grit stone occur near the base, but the upper parts in this, as in all the other Bars, are of limestone. The arch, probably of Danish origin, has occasioned much discussion, and may be proved not after the Roman manner by reference to the remains at Richborough, at Lincoln, and numerous encampments which still retain indications of their different contrivances for security, without resorting to the argument used by Sir Henry Englefield on this occasion, who denies it classic derivation, merely because such antiquities elsewhere have been almost overwhelmed by the accumulation of earth.† To say nothing of its being placed on a paved highway, the discovery of a Roman pavement immediately within the Bar, and only a few inches below the surface of the earth completely undermines Sir Henry's reasoning.

Over the arch is a modern shield, and the words *RENOVATA A.D. MDCCXXVII.* and at some feet above are the arms of the English kings, as used by Edward III., between the City shields, displaying St. George's cross, charged with five lions passant gardant or. The three latter shields are emblazoned, and are beneath small gilded canopies, of which the centre supports a helmet, surmounted by a rudely sculptured lion. The doorways which opened to the Barbican, half the hinges of the great gate, and a groove for a portcullis, still remain.

The inner front was erected in the year 1827 in the place of a mass of wood and plaster, the product of the mayoralty of R. Townes, in 1716. The interior, accessible only from the walls on its north side, the opposite door being blocked up, is divided into three rooms, possessed of no peculiarity. The extreme height of the Bar, exclusive of the stone figures, is fifty three feet six inches, its width twenty six feet, and the depth thirty four feet seven inches. The name is derived from the street to which it forms the Bar, and that thoroughfare, from its extent and width, obtained that of Mickle, or *great gate*.

Seven towers strengthen the walls between Micklegate and North Street Postern, which have been fully restored with their parapets and buttresses: about midway a rude flight of steps communicates with this part of the City.

A small door at North Street Postern, opening immediately into Bishop's fields, is defended by a tower, twenty feet in diameter, now converted into a dwelling. Originally it was lighted only by cross loop holes, which have partially given place to modern windows; it was embattled, but bricks and plaster now fill the embrasures, and a conical roof crowns the whole. It was between this and Lendal Tower, that an iron chain was stretched, which obstructed the passage of the Ouse, but at what period the use of it was abandoned does not appear, unless in the year 1682, when the latter was first adapted to the water works. Lendal Tower was at one time roofed similarly to North Street Postern, but afterwards received a considerable superstructure of brick, and an immense tank placed on its top. There is a small doorway immediately adjoining, formerly used as a postern gate.

The defences of the City are continued with slight interruption up the steep ascent from this Tower, until crossed almost at right angles by a bulwark erected by the Romans to defend the camp laid out by Agricola. A considerable portion of this wall, which extended to the Castle, is yet very perfect; and the angle of the Roman camp is still protected by the ruins of the Multangular Tower. This curious vestige of

* This description of the fortifications, commencing at Clifford's Tower, is continued in a south-westerly direction and follows the line of the walls until terminated at Fishergate Postern.—See the Map.

† *Archæologia*, vol. VI. p. 104.

antiquity, once comprised three parts of a regular polygon, the whole of which projected beyond the walls, until one of its sides was covered by the end of a more modern wall built in advance of the Roman work; nine compartments, however, are still unbroken. The walls, five feet two inches thick, are faced on both sides with small squared limestone, in regular layers four inches in depth. After nineteen courses from the foundation, five courses of Roman tiles, seventeen inches long, eleven broad, and two and a half thick, serve to bind the work together, the rest being filled up with rubble. Twenty three other courses are terminated in a like manner, and over these are eight more.* The rest of the masonry is comparatively modern, and pierced on every side with a crossed loop, covered within by a pointed arch. The internal diameter of the Tower is thirty-three feet three inches, and has evidently been divided into equal portions by a wall: the lower part is very entire, as well as that which in a straight line closed it on the side next the City.

The Roman walls adjacent, have been double, probably forming a covered way under the platform, and their foundation may be traced at the back of the present wall the whole way to Bootham. The removal for a large extent of the mound and wall, and of several buildings, to make way for a more convenient entrance from Edinburgh, laid open the Roman wall close to the Bar itself, as well as the foundations of a small Tower receding, ten feet square, exclusive of the walls, which were two feet six inches in thickness.†

Bootham Bar, as yet the only considerable outlet to the north, presents more picturesque combinations of dissimilar styles, than perhaps any of its compeers. The arch is a segment of a circle, plainly composed of materials selected from some older work, and in section, much resembles that at Micklegate. Almost the whole of the lower parts of the building are of grit stone. The principal shield of arms, which is much defaced, yet exhibits traces of the Irish harp, and is probably that set up in compliment to Oliver Cromwell on his return from Scotland in 1650; and immediately below are the ensigns armorial of the City.

The inner front was entirely rebuilt in 1719, in the prevailing character of that period, and was ornamented with a draped statue, said by some to be that of king Ebrauc, but by others to have once belonged to the splendid screen now in the Cathedral: it is now much dilapidated.

One side of the Barbican is still in existence, as well as one half of the turret, which flanked the angles of the front gate. Probably it was from a sallyport in this wall the garrison issued to defeat the republicans, who had taken possession of the Manor, during the siege in 1644. The portcullis, formed of oak, four inches by three inches, and framed in squares of seven inches, and strongly bolted at the intersections, is yet quite perfect, as well as the perpendicular windlass and ropes by which it was worked; but the groove has been walled up to prevent the fall of the ponderous machine. There are three rooms in the interior. The greatest height of this Bar is forty-six feet, and the extreme width twenty-six feet six inches. The name of Bootham is evidently derived from the district in which the Bar is situated.

The walls hence to Monk Bar have suffered more by encroachment and the hand of improvement than elsewhere; nearly the whole of the platform has been removed, and that which remains is greatly obstructed by erections of mud and brick. Ten towers, recorded by Leland as defending this space, are now reduced to six.

Monk Bar, certainly the handsomest and most imposing Gate at York, by its blackened walls and overhanging arch, gives a gloomy aspect to the entrance from Scarborough: its general form much resembles that of the other Bars, but exhibits symptoms of more recent erection. This structure underwent a thorough and judicious repair in the year 1825, excepting that the remains of the Barbican were then entirely swept away. The lower parapet bears the shield, adopted by the kings of England after the accession of Henry V., surmounted by a mutilated crest and stone canopy, and on each side are the arms of the City similarly protected. The gateway is groined, and has on its south east side a small antechamber to a guard-room, which formed an extraneous building until removed to make the way for foot passengers. The City front is perfectly dissimilar to every other, and on that account must excite a deeper interest than many more commanding objects. The whole Bar, indeed, retains almost its original character, and the architect will labour in vain to find a more correct example of this peculiar style than is here presented for his observation. A narrow and steep flight of steps in the northern pier is the only entrance, and opens into a single room, twenty-four feet six inches long by fifteen feet six inches wide, which those were obliged to cross diagonally who would ascend the next staircase. It has a groined ceiling, and is lighted by a window towards the City, but has two cross loops behind the portcullis, which is yet entire, and corresponds with that at

* Sir Henry Englefield is unfortunate in his remarks on this building. "I carefully viewed it," says he, "but could not see the least difference in material or construction from the rest of the city walls."—*Archæologia*, vol. VI. p. 104. The number of courses here given was taken on the inner side where most perfect.

† See the Map on which it is indicated.

Bootham. The windlass, however, is different, being horizontal; it is worked by handspikes, and at each end are cog wheels with a check bar, to prevent the retrograde movement of the portcullis. A door at the side opens upon the north walls, but the opposite one is closed up. The second apartment may be similarly described, but the third possesses more of singularity. Two windows with mullions are pierced on three of its sides, and on the fourth, two very small cross loops, with holes one foot square below them. The floor is ragged and uneven, being the ends of the stones composing the vaulted ceiling of the room below; and on this level low doors in the turrets open upon the overhanging platform in front. A winding stair in one of them leads to the summit of the Bar, where stone figures, in a menacing attitude, surmount the battlements of both turrets. The principal dimensions are, sixty-three feet to the tops of the turrets, twenty-six feet eight inches in width, and in depth thirty-four feet eleven inches. It bore the name of Goodram Gate, until the time of the great rebellion, whence the change may be referred to some compliment paid to General Monk, who was so enthusiastically welcomed to the City, on his expedition to restore Charles II., to the throne of his ancestors. It was used at one time as a prison for the freemen of York, but now, with the other Bars, is occupied by the industrious and decayed of that class.

Four towers occur on the irregular line of dilapidated walls from this Bar to where Layrethorpe Postern formerly stood, the last of which, supported on buttresses, is rather curious. Before the old bridge was removed from this place, a square tower, with a pointed archway, rendered it an exceedingly strong position, having the river Foss immediately in front. It, in some measure, commanded the boggy ground, now called Foss Island, but which formerly was one uninterrupted sheet of water to the Red Tower, and was considered sufficient protection for the City on this side.

A confused mass of Roman and modern bricks, now used as a stable at the northern end of the Walmgate walls, has acquired a name from its colour, although formerly it bore that of the Brimstone House, from a manufactory within its walls. This part of the fortifications suffered severely in 1644, and has undergone many restorations since that period, rendered necessary by the nature of the ground on which the foundations are laid. Nearly the whole of the wall to Walmgate Bar is built on arches, supposed by some of Roman workmanship, which there is no conclusive evidence to controvert, although the platform of the wall, being supported on elliptical arches of the Elizabethan style, would warrant a reference to a much later period. Where perfect, every other battlement is pierced with a cross loop, the heads of which are finished in a very peculiar and ornamental manner. One tower only remains between the Red Tower and the Bar, though the vestiges of two projecting buildings would make it appear the number was once greater. A mutilated shield of the City arms, with a stone canopy, probably brought from the adjacent Bar, when so nearly destroyed by the great siege, has been put up between two of the buttresses which support this wall.

Walmgate alone now affords an example of the outwork once common to all the Bars at York, but which, by neglect, time, and bad taste, have gradually disappeared from all but this hitherto favoured spot. The Bar itself is distinguished by no peculiarity; but the existence of its Barbican more than raises it to an equal with its more elegant and decorated rivals. The arch exactly resembles that at Monk Bar, and the regal arms inserted within a modern panel also correspond. The whole of the upper building accords with the superstructure of Bootham, both in regard to masonry, the manner of supporting the turrets, and its various details. The iron shod teeth of the portcullis still appear below the brow of the archway, and the massy oak gates with the hatch door yet remain. The City front of the Bar displays a curious commixture of laths and plaster, supported on two stone columns of the Tuscan order, surmounted by stories ornamented with small and corrupt columns in the Doric and Ionian styles.

The Barbican projects fifty-six feet from the face of the Bar, and records the date of the restoration of this edifice, by the inscription ANO.DNI.1648, over the entrance gate. The etymology of its name has been ingeniously deduced by Mr. Hargrove, from Vallumgate, but by other authors from the existence of a Roman road in this direction, called Watling-street, to which, against harmony of sound, which sways much in the appellation of localities, acquiescence must be conceded, especially as Leland, when he describes the affray with the Hainaulters, expressly calls the scene of action, Watelingate*.

In the whole circumference of the Fortifications the walls are nowhere so fallen and ruinous as between this Bar and Fishergate. They are almost impassable, and the single tower, which once gave its strength to repel a powerful enemy,† is now almost level with the dust. Fishergate, by some also called a Bar, differs considerably from every other remain still bearing that denomination; nor has that difference existed only in modern times. The arch is considerably higher, the groove for the portcullis varies in shape

* See note, page 25.

† This side of the fortifications was exposed to the battery of five cannon erected on Windmill Hill, mentioned by Sir Henry Slingsby.

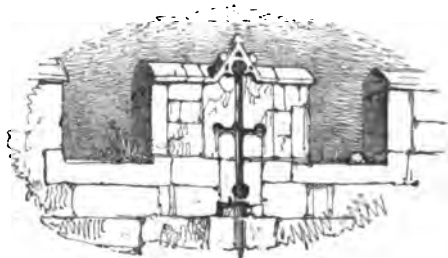
from those of the Bars, and the hinges of the gates still remaining, being close to that groove, betoken quite a distinct arrangement. The small lateral entrances have no similitude in place to any of the means of ingress adopted in the other parts of the fortifications, nor have they any traces of the manner in which they were secured against an enemy. The present remains are twenty feet eight inches in height, twenty-nine feet in width, and project fourteen feet eight inches from the walls, exclusively of the buttresses. To the right and left, immediately within the gate, are flights of steps to the platform on the walls. The whole was repaired and the arch re-opened in 1826, to improve the approach to the Cattle Market, then formed at the expense of the Body Corporate, and the adjacent walls are now receiving the reparation they so much require. Two towers, one of which is shut out by the continuation of the parapet in a straight line, and the other at an angle, singular from a fire place in the room below, occur before the fortifications, in this direction, terminate at Fishergate Postern. Several arches of limestone, supporting the wall, show themselves above the ground adjoining this comparatively modern entrance. The tower, which defends it, exhibits a fine specimen of masonry, and is no less deserving of attention from its curiosity within. A door at the back, opens into a square room, lighted by a window towards the Castle, and with a considerable fire place on the side of the entrance. On the south, a small door opens into a winding stair, which communicates with the different stories, into which the tower is divided. The next apartment contains a fire place over the window in the room below, i.e. towards the north, close to it a low door forms the entrance to a hollow buttress made for the convenience of the garrison, and a window of two lights occupies the eastern side. Ascending the narrow staircase, what appears to have been a third room presents itself, but the floor is almost entirely removed: that which remains is close to the entrance, and seems to have been raised a few inches above the rest, which led Sir Thomas Widdrington to imagine it a gallery for musicians, but more probably convenient access to the loop holes was the object in view.

The roof rests upon the battlements, behind which a reduction in the thickness of the wall affords a platform three feet six inches in breadth. The steps, and the small square tower which contains them, continue still above this level, and most likely formed a watch turret to prevent surprise. The Gate, for which all this was erected as a guard, retains the groove for a portcullis, which when drawn up, must have appeared above the parapet of the wall, a channel for its accommodation having been cut in the tower itself. The hinges for the door also remain.

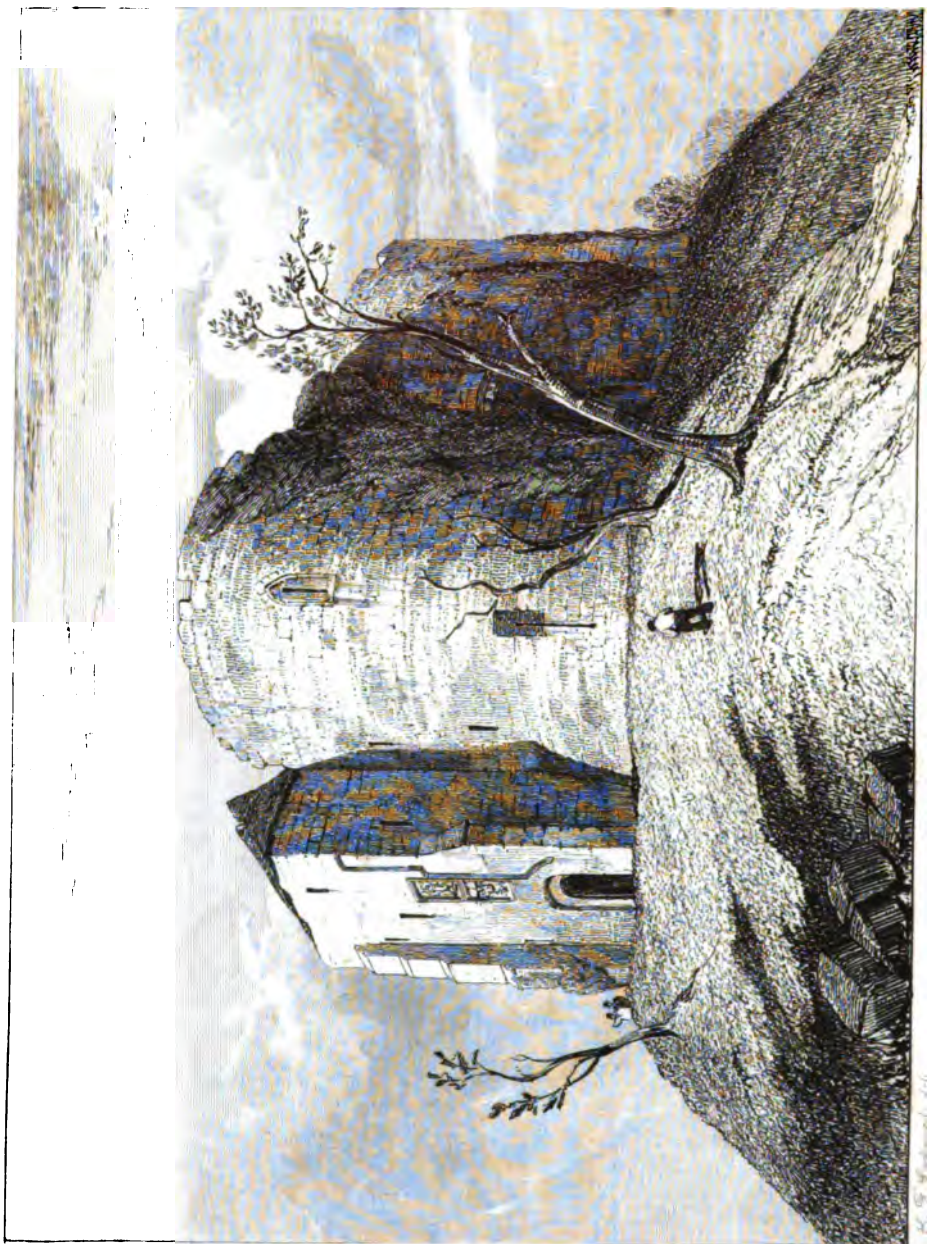
The entire circumference of the Fortifications to the City of York is four thousand seven hundred and seven yards, or two miles, five furlongs, and eighty-seven yards, an immense extent, fraught with interest and matter for study, for the architect, the artist, and the antiquary. It presents to the lover of history the best illustration of the customs and necessities of our forefathers, and exhibits in the strongest light the ferocity and folly of mankind.

The Walls around the Manor Shore form an extraneous portion of this subject, which must be noticed, since they "have done the state some service." They commence at Bootham Bar, and extend in a north westerly direction one hundred and ninety-four yards, defended by three towers, and terminated by St. Mary's Tower. From this angle, rendered notable by the explosion of the mine in 1644, the defences turn towards the river, on the banks of which a circular tower, octangular within, completes the fortifications. This line is four hundred and twenty yards in length.

Having no mound, the walls themselves are considerably higher than those more immediately belonging to the City, but are almost hid from public view by the houses in Bootham and St. Mary Gate abutting closely upon them. The platform, which is entirely gone, was probably of wood.



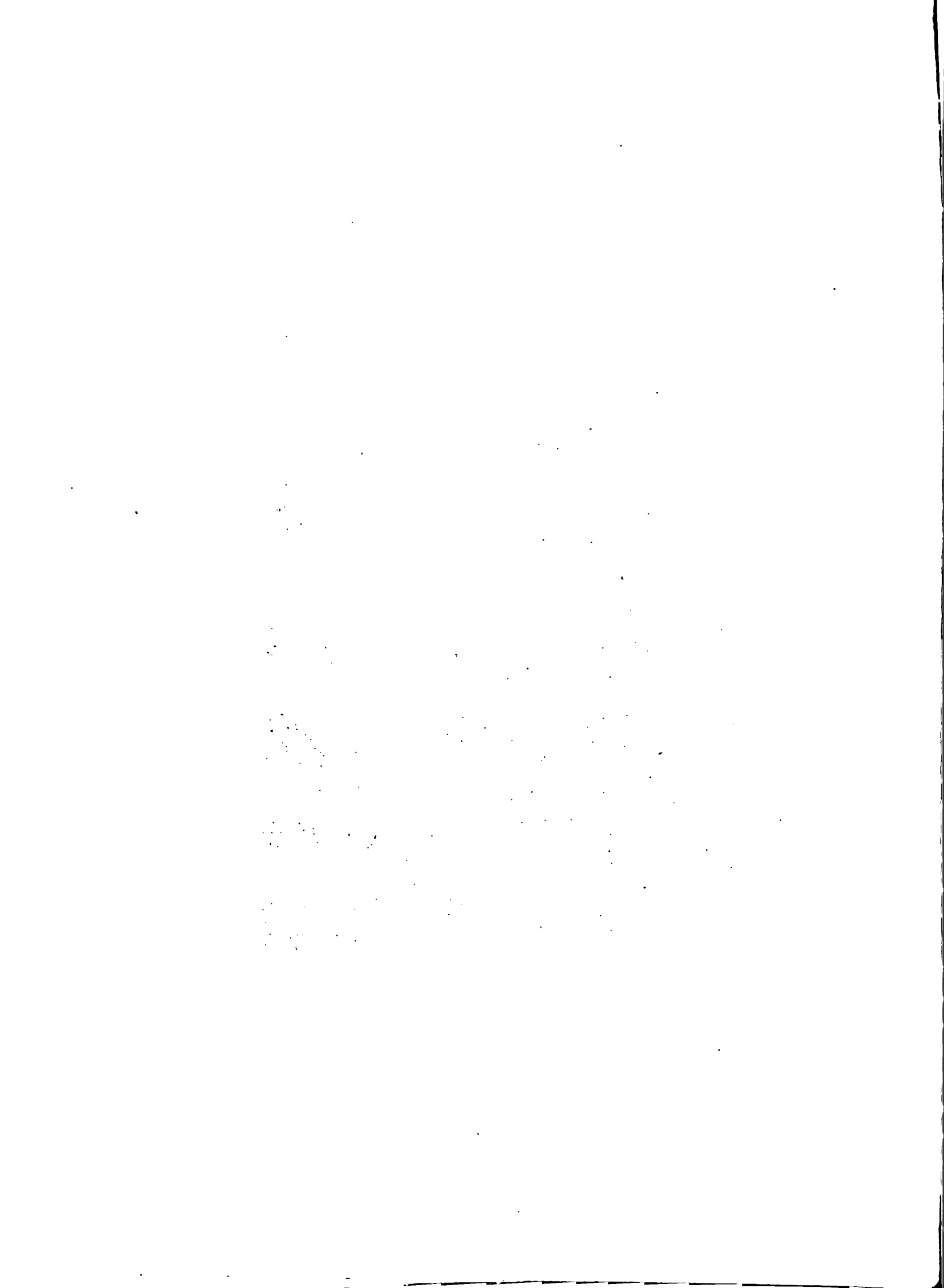
Battlement and Loophole on the Walmgate Walls.

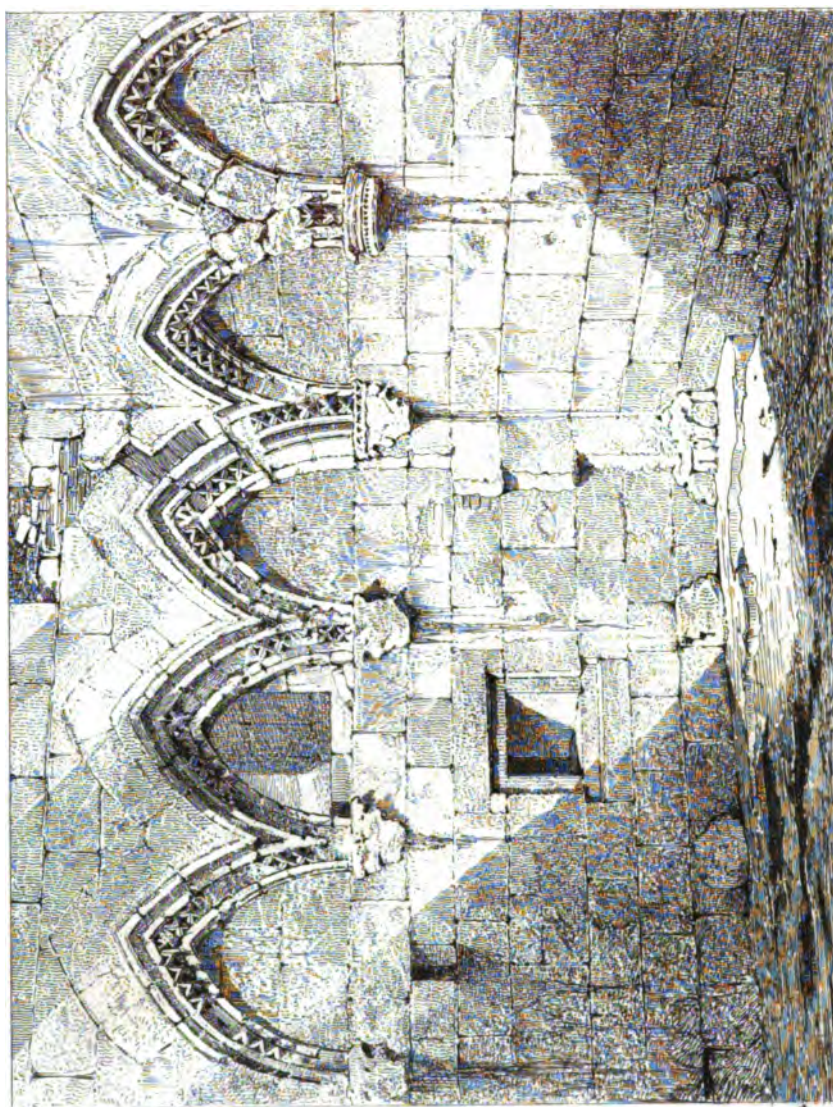


St. M. 1840, No. 100

St. M. 1840, No. 100

St. M. 1840, No. 100





Wells Chapter House

Interior of the Chapel

Photograph by the Author, May 1884



Micklegate Bar

Published for the Authors May 1824



W. H. Stodart del.

A. W. Cotton sculp.

World about Britain & Scotland, 1824.
The River Clyde, looking N.W.

Published for the Authors, May, 1824.

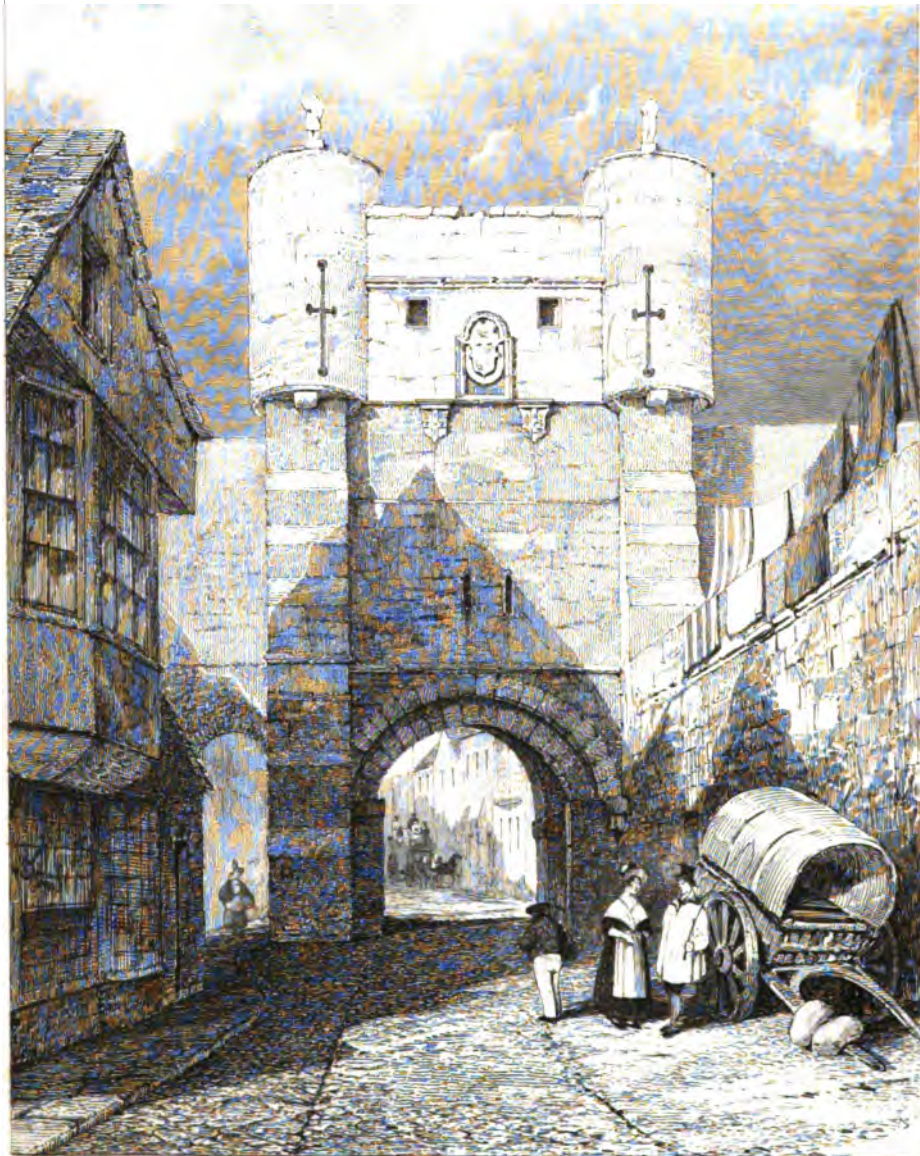


W. H. Stiles del.

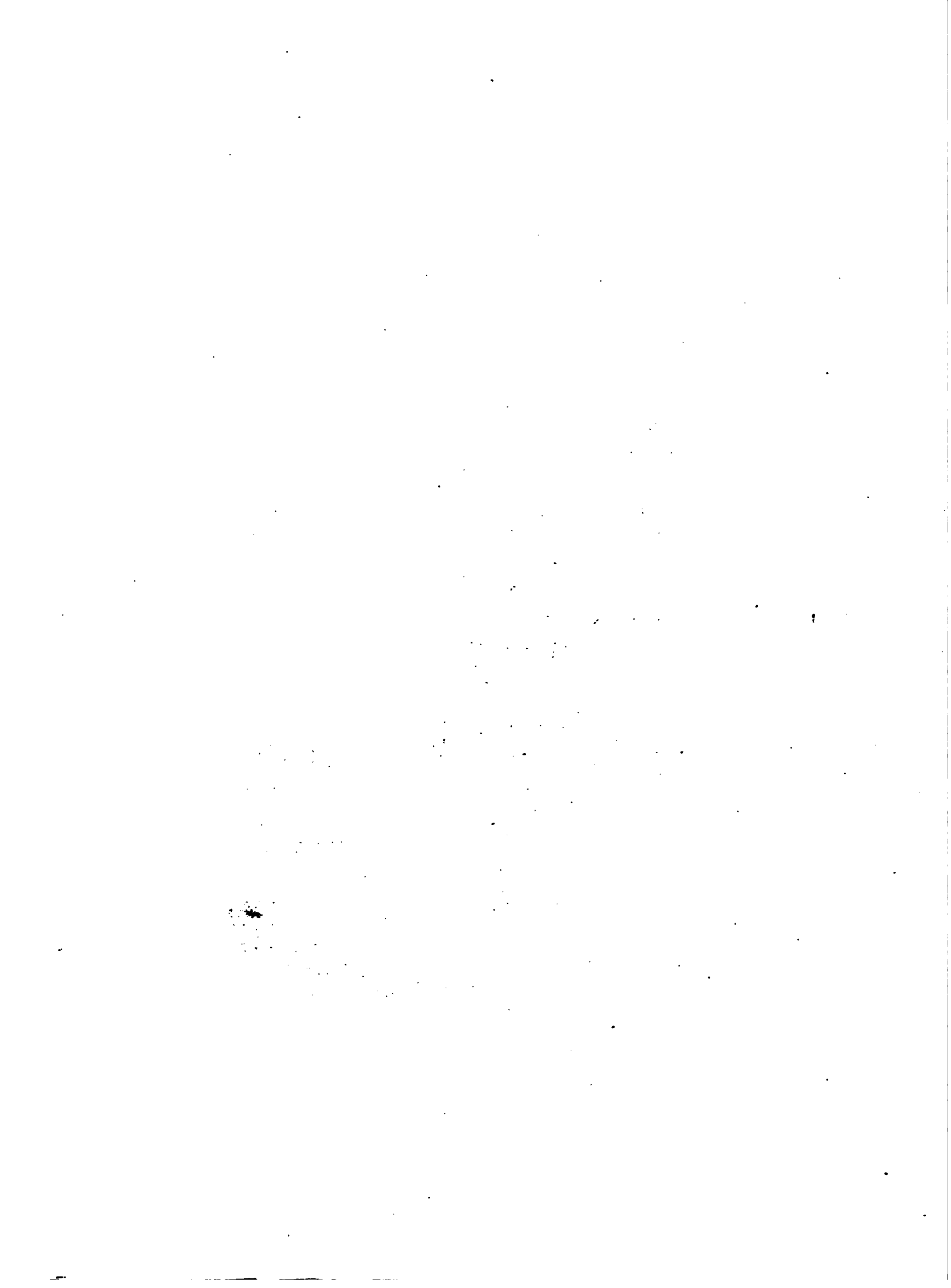
W. H. Stiles sculp.

The Mullangulor Tower.

Pub^d for the Authors, May 1834



Beetham Bar.





H. J. P. 1844

W. J. P. 1844

North Port.

Printed by G. J. P. 1844



Mont-Bar, City View

Published for the Author, May, 1854



Wm. F. Lockwood, del.

A. H. C. de la Haye, sculp.

Walsgate Bar & Barchuan

Viewed from the East. May 1851.

Power Gate





Subergate Western



St. Mary's Tower

Printed and Published by J. M. G. & Co. 1841.



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